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edited by Zoe Madden-Wood & Kaori Ueki

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## PREFACE

*Kaori Ueki, PhD Student in Linguistics*

*Zoe Madden-Wood, MA Student in Linguistics*

On April 8, 2006, the College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature of the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa held its tenth annual conference for graduate students. This event gathered many graduate students and faculty members from the Departments of English, Linguistics, Second Language Studies, Languages and Literatures of Europe and the Americas, East Asian Languages and Literatures, and even a few from non-related departments. The conference opened with some beautiful multi-cultural dancing and a plenary speech by Dr. Albert Wendt, a distinguished Writer in Residence and Citizens' Chair in the Department of English. The plenary speech was followed by presentations organized into 15 thematic sessions. Fifty-two presentations were made, and twenty-four are included in the proceedings.

On behalf of the College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literatures, we would like to thank all student and faculty volunteers who devoted their time and effort to make the conference a success. We would especially like to thank Diana Stojanovic and Christian Hall, Co-chairs, and faculty advisor Dr. Justin Ota, without whom this conference would not have been possible. We would also like to thank all the abstract readers, publicity and liaison volunteers, food and beverage organizers, audiovisual organizers, program designers, panel moderators, and all on-site volunteers for their assistance before and during the conference.

The editors would like to express their thanks to Dean Joseph H. O'Mealy and his staff for their constant help in the preparation of these proceedings. In particular, we are grateful to Iris E. Chang and her assistants, Do So and Naomi Ng, for guiding us through the publishing process. We would like to thank Hunter Hatfield and Annie Tremblay, the editors of the previous year's proceedings, for a great precedent and all their help since. We are also grateful to the editing team of Carl Polley, Hunter Hatfield, Rachel Oriol, Valerie Guerin, and Greg May. Finally, we would like to thank the contributors for their patience during the editing process. We hope that our contributions to their work have been valuable and wish them well in their future publishing efforts.



## PLENARY SPEAKER HIGHLIGHTS

*Zoe Madden-Wood, MA Student in Linguistics*

Albert Wendt holds the Citizens' Chair in the Department of English. He was born in Western Samoa and has risen to become one of the most famous Pacific authors. He is a prolific writer, having written six novels, several short story collections, four volumes of poetry, and a play. His most recent works have included *The Mango Kiss* and *The Book of the Black Star*. Albert Wendt's writing draws on cultural themes from Samoa, Hawaii, and other parts of Polynesia.

Albert Wendt honored the Languages, Linguistics, and Literature Conference by giving the plenary speech at the 2006 opening ceremony. Following on the heels of multicultural dancing, he started off his talk on his works and his inspirations. With gentle humor he said he would give an "informal" presentation then proceeded to move to his prepared slides of abstract paintings infused with poetry. He says of them, "Each one is a poem; either in the painting or inspired by one." Volcanoes, night skies, pessimistic landscapes, all abound in his pictures. The themes in his art reflect nature, myth, and the heritage of many Polynesian cultures.

He read several of his poems to the crowd. Among them was *The Ko'olau*, which he has generously allowed us to reprint here. He spent several weeks on his lanai, looking at the Ko'olau Mountain. "And at the same time," he says, "while I was composing the poem, I began to do a series of paintings called the Ko'olau Series." He often writes and draws himself into the surrounding scenery. Though combining painting and poetry for him is a relatively recent trend, he has always held a deep connection with the arts in the Pacific.

There are many mountains in his life, a fact he cites in his poem. Mount Vaea was behind the town in Samoa where he grew up, and was famous for being a fantastic lover turned to stone. While describing his long-standing ties with Hawai'i, he mentioned his annual journey to the Big Island to visit Pele. "The power of Pele is beyond description," he says. During each visit he chants the simple greeting, "E, Pele, e," and it echoes across the volcano with a fantastic force.

He spoke of Hawai'i, which he has been coming to since 1969. He moved here two years ago. "For me, two years in Hawai'i, so far, have been one of the most creative and productive periods of my life." He does not question why they are productive. "I am just grateful it *is* productive." When describing his feelings about Hawai'i he said, "I have a home, a very large Hawaiian family here."

# THE KO'OLAU

*Albert Wendt, Citizens' Chair*

(1)

Since we moved into Mānoa I've not wanted to escape  
the Ko'olau at the head of the valley  
They rise as high as atua as profound as their bodies  
They've been here since Pele fished these fecund islands  
out of Her fire and gifted them the songs  
of birth and lamentation

Every day I stand on our front veranda  
and on acid-free paper try and catch their constant changing  
as the sun tattoos its faces across their backs

Some mornings they turn into tongue-  
less mist my pencil can't voice or map  
Some afternoons they swallow the dark rain  
And dare me to record that on page

What happens to them on a still and cloudless day?  
Will I be able to sight Pele Who made them?  
If I reach up into the sky's head will I be able  
to pull out the Ko'olau's incendiary genealogy?

At night when I'm not alert they grow long limbs  
and crawl down the slopes of my dreams and out  
over the front veranda to the frightened stars

Yesterday Noel our neighbour's nine-  
year-old son came for the third day  
and watched me drawing the Ko'olau  
Don't you get bored doing *that*? he asked  
Not if your life depended on it! I replied  
and realized I meant it

(2)

There are other mountains in my life:

Vaea who turned to weeping stone as he waited  
for his beloved Apaula to return and who now props  
up<sup>1</sup> the fading legend of Stevenson to his 'wide and starry sky'  
and reality-TV tourists hunting for treasure islands

---

<sup>1</sup> During the legendary hero Vaea's wait for his beloved Apaula's return, he turned to stone, forming Mt. Vaea. It is on this mountain that Robert Louis Stevenson is buried.

Mauga-o-Fetu<sup>2</sup> near the Fafa at Tufutafoe  
at the end of the world where meticulous priests gathered  
to unravel sunsets and the flights of stars that determine  
our paths to Pulu<sup>3</sup> or into the unexplored  
geography of the agaga

Taranaki<sup>4</sup> Who witnessed Te Whiti's<sup>5</sup> fearless stand at Parihaka  
Against the settlers' avaricious laws and guns  
Who watched them being evicted and driven eventually  
from their succulent lands but not from the defiant struggle  
their descendants continue today forever until victory

(3)

The Ko'olau watched the first people settle in the valley  
The Kanaka Maoli planted their ancestor the Kalo  
in the mud of the stream and swamps  
and later in the terraced lo'i they constructed  
Their ancestor fed on the valley's black blood  
They fed on the ancestor and flourished for generations

Recently their heiau on the western slopes was restored  
The restorers tried to trace the peoples' descendants in the valley  
They found none to bless the heiau's re-opening  
On a Saturday morning as immaculate as Pele's mana  
We stood in the heiau in their welcoming presence that stretched  
across the valley and up into their mountains  
where their kapa-wrapped bones are hidden

(4)

The Ko'olau has seen it all  
I too will go eventually  
with my mountains wrapped up  
in acid-free drawings that sing  
of these glorious mountains  
and the first Kanaka Maoli who named  
and loved them forever

---

<sup>2</sup> Mauga-o-Fetu is a stone mound located at the tip of the island Savaii, where the ancestral forests met. This mound was part of the centre of our ancient pre-Christian religion.

<sup>3</sup> Pulu is the Spirit World.

<sup>4</sup> Taranaki is a beautiful mountain in the centre of Taranaki Province in New Zealand. After the settler wars of the 1860s, the settler government confiscated millions of acres belonging to the Taranaki Maori tribes.

<sup>5</sup> Te Whiti was the marvelous Maori leader who used passive resistance to try to reclaim some of that land. His descendants have continued that fight to this day and are now winning in the courts.



# I. Language Acquisition





# SOCIO-TECHNICAL CAPITAL IN BILINGUAL NETWORKS

Matthew A. Chapman, Department of Information and Computer Sciences

## ABSTRACT

The lack of a common language in bilingual networks creates a natural barrier to communication and, thus, a barrier to establishing social relations. Paul Resnick, in his article *Beyond Bowling Together*, introduces the term socio-technical capital as a measure for the generation and maintenance of technology-mediated social relations. This study explores the development of such capital in a chat application. For an Information and Communication Technology experiment, a bilingual textual chat tool was rapidly constructed, allowing its users to breach the natural language barrier and to produce bilingual socio-technical capital.

## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

Social relationships are established and developed through interaction with other people. In the area of computer supported communication, a coordinating collaborative environment can be critical to establishing and facilitating the exchange of information (Deek, F. P. & McHugh, 2003).

### 1.1. Languages Worldwide

A natural barrier to global communication and the distribution of information is the large number of languages used throughout the world. As of February 2006, there are more than 6,900 known living languages in the world (Gordon, 2005). With such a large number of living languages, the facilitation of communication across natural language barriers becomes paramount. It also seems unlikely that, in the near future, a complete set of translation systems can be made available to support multi-lingual networks and computer supported communications.

### 1.2. Socio-Technical Capital

Paul Resnick, in his article *Beyond Bowling Together*, defines the term “socio-technical capital” (STC) to refer to the residual gain or side effect of social interactions. It is a productive combination of social relations and information and communication technology (ICT). Resnick suggests that STC is a resource to be accumulated and can be developed when people accomplish a task together, improve the routing of information, exchange resources, provide emotional support, and coordinate for collective action (Resnick, 2002).

Resnick (2002) further defines STC through seven productive resources that compose its anatomy. They include the communication path, the sharing of knowledge, shared values, a sense of collective identity, obligations, roles and norms, and trust. The ICT developed for this study directly addresses this concept by enabling interaction where it previously did not exist, focusing on the accumulation of STC while two parties accomplish a task together across a natural language barrier, and evaluating the gain in STC in terms of the seven productive resources.

### 1.3. Purpose

The purpose of this technology design project is to study qualitatively the development of STC across a natural language barrier on a bilingual network. The goal in developing the ICT for this study is to discover some of the capabilities and limitations of acquiring this capital while communicating through a rapidly constructed machine translation application.

## 2.0. METHOD

In order to discover the capabilities and limitations of acquiring STC in a bilingual network, this ICT study was structured around four main requirements: the utilization of a development framework, the identification of the domain, the project scenario, and the evaluation plan.

## 2.1. Framework for Development

The framework followed in this study was developed to facilitate rapid construction of machine translation systems in environments that would otherwise require human translators to communicate in the target language. As such, this framework addresses the construction of translation applications only within very specific domains, making it well suited for this study.

The framework is a five-phase process. First, an on-line communication path is determined and established. Second, domain goals and key knowledge requests are identified and prepared to attain the most critical information, based on the domain requirements, and to facilitate the transfer of knowledge between the participants. Third, a multi-language model is developed to facilitate the exchange of the key knowledge requests. Fourth, language resource packages are developed to populate the model. The fifth and final phase is system integration (Chapman, 2006).

## 2.2. Identification of the Domain

The selection of the domain in this ICT study was inspired by prior experience working with the Hawaii and Kansas Departments of Human Services (Hawaii Foster Parent Association, 2005). The specific domain chosen was the initial stages of adopting a child from an overseas agency.

## 2.3. Project Scenario

The scenario in this study involves a client interested in adopting a child from an overseas agency (US Department of State, 2005). The client and the agency do not share a common language, and the agency is required to conduct a home study of the client's background information. This involves communication between the client and the agency, describing the client's residence and immediate family. The agent's goal is to gain information from the client regarding the client's place of residence and immediate family. The communication medium is computer supported writing. Communication is limited to the exchange of near synchronous text, "chat."

## 2.4. Evaluation Plan

The experiment evaluates the general capabilities and limitations of acquiring STC through the seven productive resources in its anatomy: the communications path, the sharing of knowledge, shared values, a sense of collective identity, obligations, roles and norms, and trust.

The experiment followed an emergent, qualitative research design using multiple methods. These included an ethnographic design, lab experimentation, observations, questionnaires, and post-session interviews (Creswell, 2003). Thus, as agents and clients communicated across a natural language barrier through a computer collaborative environment, information on the development of STC was gathered either externally or through direct contact following the experiment (see Figure 1: Multiple Methods).

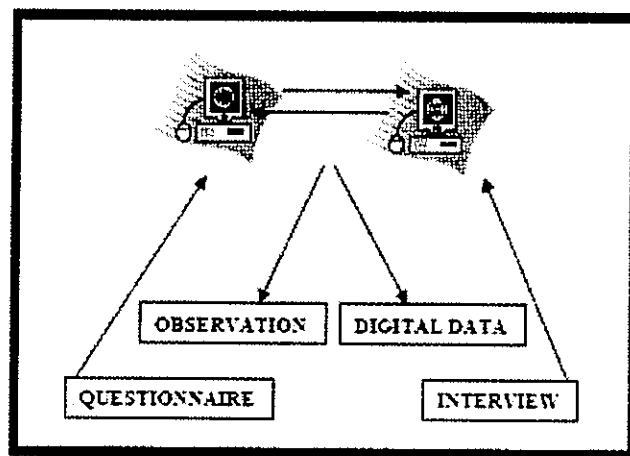


Figure 1: Multiple Methods

The ICT was evaluated in a laboratory setting. A profile of two prospective clients was established for the agent's information gathering task. The client in the chat session role-played one of these profiles. The agent was then presented with a set of instructions describing the situation and written instructions on running the chat application software. Next, the agent was asked to begin the interview via the chat program.

Two main scenarios were used. In the first scenario, the agent and client did not share a common language. In the second scenario, the agent and client both configured their systems for the English language, thus examining the differences between bilingual and common language execution of the experimental task.

Finally, testing concluded with a questionnaire and a structured interview. Data was gathered on the users' ability to accomplish the task, reduce the language barrier, and accommodate the growth of STC.

## **2.5. Constraints**

In order to facilitate the rapid development of the machine translation application, this ICT adhered to the constraints outlined below.

Only two languages are available in the system. These languages were chosen as alphabetical languages that are represented in the Unicode character set. English was chosen for the first language. Thai was chosen for the second language.

Agent queries and client responses were limited to a set of pre-selected phrases determined during the development of domain goals and key knowledge requests as part of the second phase of the development framework.

The Thai translation model implemented a simple lexicon and grammar developed specifically for the domain goal and key knowledge requests of the client/agent scenario. The English language model is a direct phrase substitution. Therefore, freeform messaging is not available in this application.

## **2.6. Recognized Evaluation Bias**

It was recognized that Thai language users' actual knowledge of the English language and culture would lead to conformity and processing biases in their evaluation of the ICT. Since these users were fluent in both English and Thai, translations into the target language that would have normally appeared in the chat window were removed for the testing sessions.

This ICT adhered to certain time constraints in system evaluation, leading to a representative-ness bias (Deek & McHugh, 2003).

Even with the constraints and limitations above, the ICT evaluation results nonetheless clearly illustrate some of the limitations and benefits of this approach in supporting the accumulation of STC.

## **3.0. PHYSICAL DESIGN**

The physical design of the ICT system follows a three-step process for either the agent or the client in the sample scenario. These three steps include settings and system configuration, networking, and chat.

### **3.1. Settings and System Configuration**

There are several prerequisites to this initial step of the physical design. First and foremost is the assumption that both the user and client have computer systems capable of networking via a TCP/IP (i.e., Internet) connection. It is also assumed that systems are equipped with a mouse and keyboard, and that the users are familiar with the operation of a basic graphical user interface such as selecting options with a mouse and executing a program by "double clicking" an icon.

After initiating the program by "double clicking" on the program icon, the user is presented with the settings menu which is displayed in both default languages available in this ICT (see Figure 2: System Settings).

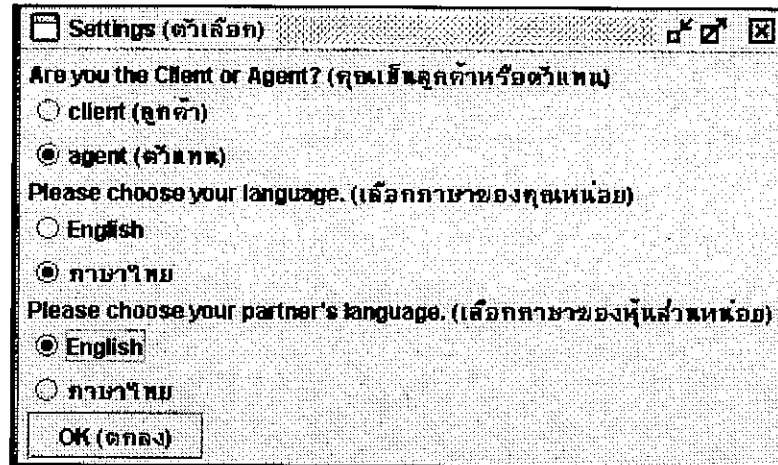


Figure 2: System Setting

At this menu, the user selects the role of agent or client, the language they will use in the chat, and the language of their partner in the chat. After this stage of the program, information will be displayed to the user in their chosen language only. Figure 3 (Confirm in English) and Figure 4 (Confirm in Thai) demonstrate this feature in both English and Thai languages.

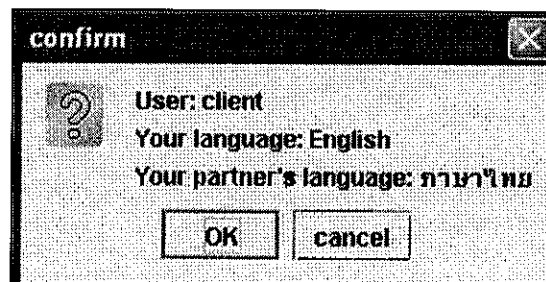


Figure 3: Confirm in English

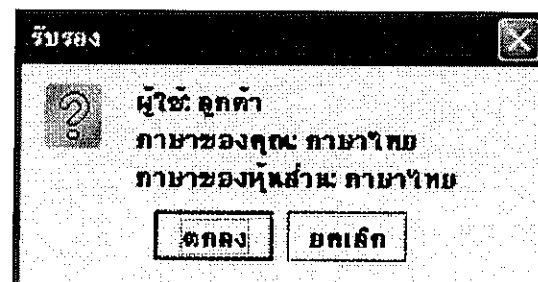


Figure 4: Confirm in Thai

### 3.2. Networking

The second step, establishment of the network connection, builds upon the user's selection of either agent or client in the settings menu, determining which role the user will play in establishing the network connection. It was determined that, for this scenario, the agent would be the first to configure a network

connection and send the application into listening mode. At this point, the agent waits for an incoming call from a client (see Figure 5 and Figure 6 for English language example screenshots).

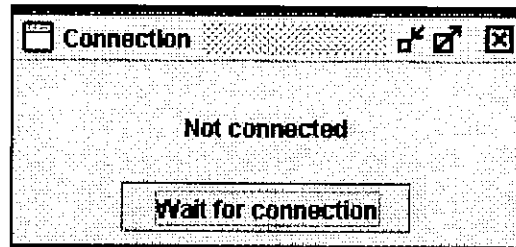


Figure 5: Connection window

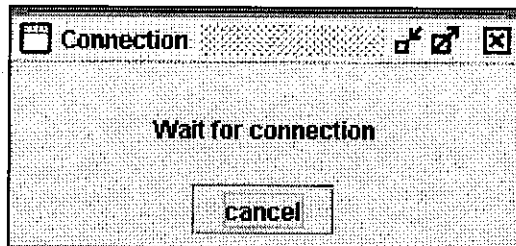


Figure 6: Waiting for Connection

The client in this scenario is given the option of either connecting to a preconfigured agency computer or specifying a particular Internet address. When the client completes this screen, a TCP/IP connection is established with the waiting agent's computer (see Figure 7: Client Network Configuration Options).

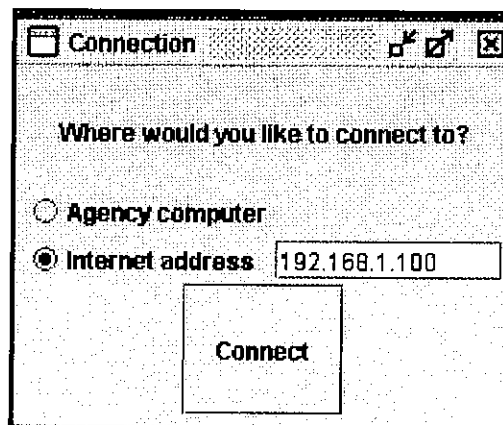


Figure 7: Client Network Configuration Options

### 3.3. Chat

When the network connection is established, the system enters the chat phase. Each user is presented with a dual-pane chat window. The left pane contains the phrases available for bidirectional communication in the user's native language. The right pane displays the history of the chat session. Initially, this pane is empty. When a phrase is selected and the user clicks on the send button, the phrase is displayed in the right pane in the user's native language and also translated into the partner's language. Simultaneously, the information is sent to the distant end of the connection, where the data also appears in the right pane of the partner's chat window in both the partner's native language and the original language of the sender.

Both translations are available to the users, in case they may have some knowledge of the language and would like to see the system translation. This also gives each user a historical record of the information exchange in both languages (see Figure 8 and Figure 9 for chat window samples for English and Thai language users).

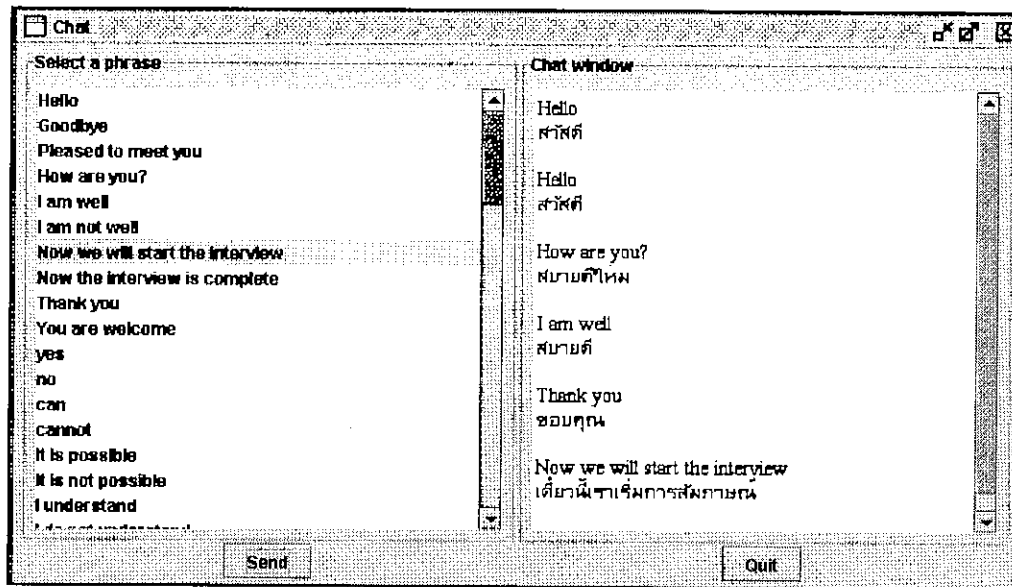


Figure 8: English Language Chat Window

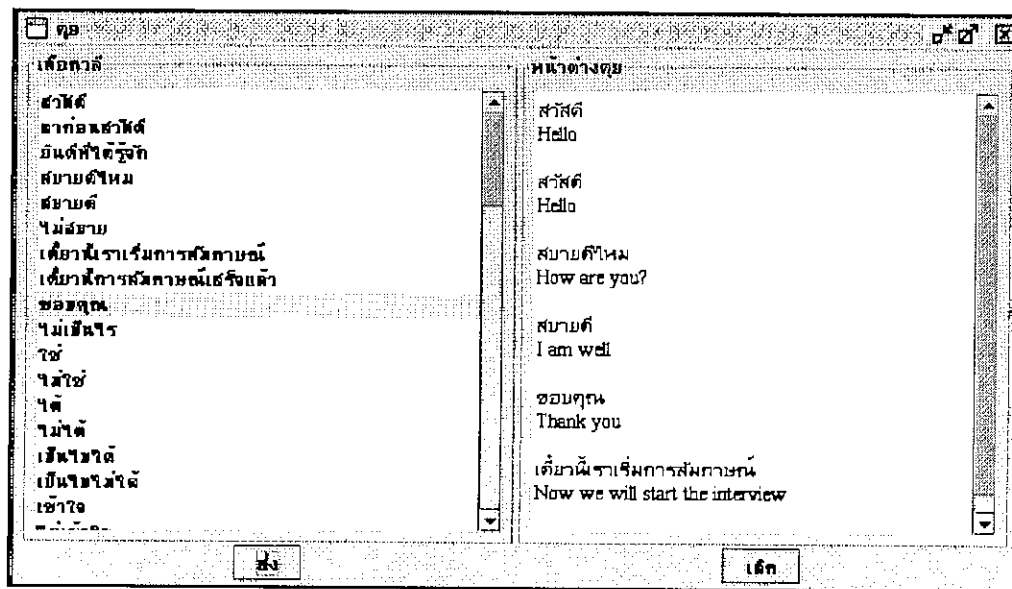


Figure 9: Thai Language Chat Window

#### 4.0. RESULTS

This rapidly developed ICT for bilingual information sharing was evaluated for the benefits and limitations of its ability to facilitate the growth of STC. Of particular interest was the ability of the users to accomplish a task together, reduce their natural language barrier, and support the seven productive resources in the anatomy of STC; the communication path, the sharing of knowledge, shared values, a sense of collective identity, obligations, roles and norms, and trust.

#### 4.1. Accomplishing the Task

The task assigned to the agent in this ICT was to accumulate information pertaining to the client's immediate family and place of residence (North American Council on Adoptable Children, 2005). In all instances, the agent firmly believed that the task was accomplished. Also, by comparing the agent's profile developed through the chat procedure with the target profile of the client, it was clear that the agent learned a majority of the facts listed in the target profile.

There were also some clear limitations to this approach in accomplishing the task. Even though the agent was able to gain a majority of the factual data in the profile, the agent was not able to explore particular areas in depth. With phrases and communication available only from a predetermined set, the agent was constrained to that information which was determined as key knowledge in the second phase of the development framework.

Agents were also asked about their ability to complete the task when the client did not share a common language compared to their ability to complete the task when a single language was used. Again, all tests suggest that the ability of the agent to collect information remained unchanged regardless of the agent and client's choices of native language. The results in this aspect of the study are very encouraging, in that the ICT was able to reduce the difficulties in communication in an information gathering scenario across a natural language barrier.

#### 4.2. Improving the Routing of Information

Agents in the evaluation felt that there was a clearly understood path of communication between agent and client. What is interesting to note is that agents felt that, given the opportunity, they would like to continue conversing with the client in the future with the established communication path. Asked whether the evaluation had any entertainment value, all agents agreed that the task was entertaining. Taken together, these aspects of the ICT support the claim that a communication path was established for current and future use that could accommodate the acquisition of STC.

#### 4.3. Values

The actual client profiles were developed such that there were two contrasting family situations represented. After the interviews were complete, the agents were asked if they developed any feeling of the client's personal values. Results were split, where some agents felt they did develop a sense of the client's values, while other clients did not believe they could deduce that information.

One agent suggested that, since one client had a family where both the client and the spouse were working and owned a home with three children living in the home, the client seemed to be a more traditional family and, thus, the agent interpreted this as displaying 'traditional family values'. Thus, the second client, where one spouse was working and someone unrelated was living in the home, led the agent to suspect this home may not be appropriate for an adoptive child.

A second agent suggested that, since one of the clients had a twenty-year-old son and the client was only married to his wife for two years, a previous marriage was involved, and therefore, the client was divorced.

These examples illustrate that, in this ICT, the agents were able to develop at least some sense of the client's values in limited situations.

The agents were unanimous in stating that they could not provide any amount of emotional support to the client due to the lack of phrases and statements allowing for such a conversation. They did feel, however, that if specific phrases were developed with that goal in mind, they would be able to provide some amount of emotional support.

#### 4.4. Sense of Collective Identity

All agents evaluated felt that they could not deduce whether or not they had anything in common with the client. Agents generally stuck to the role of interviewer and did not offer any personal information to the client. Only in one instance was the client successful in getting the agent to answer the question, "Are you married?"

Agents did feel that they accomplished a common goal with the client, and that they developed an agent to client relationship rather than any type of peer-to-peer or personal relationship.

The ICT therefore seemed very limited in its ability to establish a sense of collective identity. Future evaluation of peer-to-peer chat scenarios could provide insight into this area in the future.

#### **4.5. Obligations**

All agents felt an obligation to complete the home study task. Given their instructions, namely, that the agent would have approximately ten minutes to complete the study, agents were anxious to begin the evaluation and explore all of the listed question phrases in their chat window. While discussing the post evaluation questionnaire, one agent went as far as to suggest which of the clients was better suited to adopt a child.

#### **4.6. Roles and Norms**

All agents commented that a clearly defined turn taking sequence developed. The agents understood their role as the interviewer and took the initiative to lead the conversation. In most cases, agents ignored questions posed by the clients because, in most cases, they believed the questions appeared as a system error, since a client would not be asking them personal questions, as doing so would be inappropriate.

#### **4.7. Trust**

All of the agents believed that the client provided them with true information. Moreover, since this was an initial screening for an adoption home study, agents felt that any information passed on to them would have to be verified in the future, and the client would not take the risk of providing false information. However, this evaluation was limited in this area, since both the client and agent were role-playing, and, therefore, there was little to no risk in accepting false information.

There was one instance of an agent answering a personal question, and the agent was truthful to their real life situation in their answer.

A final area of trust explored was the user's confidence that their information was being transmitted accurately. All users believed that the selection of predefined phrases could assure that the translations were accurate and accurately transmitted (Friedman & Howe, 2000).

### **5.0. CONCLUSION**

The results of this study are very encouraging, since this approach to facilitating communication in a bilingual network clearly reduces the difficulties in communication in a bilingual information gathering scenario. The evaluation shows that results from single language and dual language testing were nearly identical.

There were clearly some benefits discovered in this experiment to accommodating the acquisition of STC. A communication path was established which could be used for future benefit and information flow. This approach facilitates the sharing of knowledge, specifically facts, events, and a shared vocabulary. Users united for a common purpose, and the agent was able to gain some insight into the client's values. The fulfillment of obligations was clearly demonstrated, which in turn created value for future use. Well-defined roles emerged, which led to clear communicative expectations (Resnick, 2002). Finally, there was a desire to pursue future communication, for either informational or recreational purposes, which could directly build additional STC.

The most limiting aspect of this ICT was its inability to provide emotional support and develop a shared identity between the users in a peer-to-peer or personal relationship setting.

### **6.0. FUTURE WORK**

In addition to the limited testing conducted in the ICT study, experimentation of a larger sampling of agents and clients would most certainly lead to a better understanding of the preliminary results described here. It would also be beneficial to illuminate the additional benefits and limitations that this approach might contribute to bilingual communication.

In addition to experimentation in an agent to client scenario, experimentation of peer-to-peer and personal exchange scenarios may also illustrate additional benefits and limitations of this type of approach of



supporting bilingual communication. Indeed, the addition of phrases and words to support the development of a deeper relationship between users should be explored in greater depth.

Although adding the capability of freeform textual exchange between users would greatly enhance the ICT system's communicative capabilities, its advantage of rapid development would be increasingly hindered. Future research in this area could attempt to discover a beneficial balance between development time and capabilities required for specific translation systems.

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# PILOT STUDY ON THE EFFECT OF GROUPING AND COMPOSITIONAL ANALYSIS ON CHINESE CHARACTER RETENTION

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## ABSTRACT

Ten student volunteers were used to determine the effect of character groupings and component explanations on short-term retention. Each participant was simultaneously given two sets of data, one containing unrelated characters in random order, and another containing related characters presented in logical groups. All characters had reading and meaning data. The grouped characters also had explanations on character composition. Retention of character forms, meanings, and readings was tested immediately after the initial study period and again 24 hours later. The results indicate that grouping characters and explaining their composition significantly improved day-1 meaning recall and day-2 meaning and form recall. Reading recall was identical regardless of data format.

## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

Although it is widely acknowledged that learning characters does not in and of itself guarantee success in learning Chinese, there is little doubt that one of the greatest stumbling blocks to attaining proficiency in the written language revolves around the thousands of characters that students must memorize to read authentic materials. Because learning characters by rote is such a difficult task, sinologists and teachers have sometimes sought to explain character composition to help make characters more memorable. English language study aids that explain Chinese or Japanese character composition have been around since at least the early 1900s. As such materials go out of print, they tend to be replaced by a new generation of similar study aids. Recently, online character resources containing composition data have also begun to make their mark, as sites like *www.zhongwen.com* become student favorites.<sup>1</sup>

The quality of materials explaining character composition varies considerably. Some do little more than indicate which portion of a character is semantic and which is phonetic, while others attempt far more elaborate explanations. If one compares, for instance, Wieger's *Caractères Chinois* with Henshall's *Guide to Remembering Japanese Characters*, one sees a vast difference in the length of the etymological information presented. There is also a considerable difference of opinion within the field over the general nature of character composition. Some scholars argue that phonetic components convey only clues to pronunciation, while others insist that phonetic components often convey semantic information as well.<sup>2</sup>

Such theoretical considerations aside, anecdotal evidence suggests that explaining character composition can be helpful. Mickel describes the value of outlining the historical development of the Chinese writing system to beginning students, during which time he explains the notions of sound and meaning elements. He advocates a sort of cognitive approach to understanding characters as a viable alternative to rote memorization (92-94). Another language teacher, Liu, believes that a student "learns only when he can perceive something as structured" (68). She argues strongly for a mastery of radicals, and further emphasizes that explanations should be restricted to *xingsheng* (phonetic compound) characters. While some of her arguments seem questionable—in particular, the restriction to phonetic compounds or the implication that radicals alone suffice—she certainly does seem to agree with the general notion that componential analysis is helpful.

Beyond testimonials like those just cited, it appears there have been no statistical studies attempting to determine whether compositional analysis actually works. Accordingly, one of the chief aims of the present pilot study was to test whether information on character composition can help students remember characters.

The notion of *remembering characters* itself deserves close examination. *Recognizing* a character presented on paper means to realize that one has seen it before. One can distinguish it from other, similar characters, and remember its meanings and readings. This is different from *recalling* how to write a character when prompted by meaning or reading. Therefore, when researching the issue of character retention, it is important to recognize that three separate activities can take place depending on the stimulus and expected response (Table 1).

Table 1: Directionality in Memory Tasks

Test Stimulus	Expected Response	Requisite Activity
character	reading	recognition
character	meaning	recognition
reading & meaning	character	recall

It is tempting to parse the act of remembering characters into three simple stimulus-response vectors—namely, character to reading, character to meaning, and English meaning to character. However, the last of these (recalling character form based on meaning) technically requires a stimulus that includes both reading and meaning, as otherwise there may be too many possible responses.<sup>3</sup> From the outset, then, we must clearly distinguish the act of recall (knowing how to write a character) from that of recognition (knowing the meaning or reading). The latter is generally thought to be an easier endeavor, especially when context is provided.

Taking such distinctions into consideration places us in a good position to test some old ideas that never seem to be fully implemented, as the notion of grouping characters to mnemonic advantage is nothing new. As far back as 1970, Astor suggested that phonetic elements would be an "excellent means of learning whole families of Chinese characters at one gulp" (Mickel: 97). In the 1980s, Pye produced a book of characters grouped in precisely this fashion for students of Japanese. Such materials, however, do not usually explore the motivational aspects of phonetics. In other words, they tend to provide little information about the phonetic other than that it is a phonetic. Cases where the phonetic clearly plays a dual role (conveying both phonetic and semantic information) are wholly ignored. Only Todo and offshoots of his approach attempt to redress this shortcoming.<sup>4</sup> In this study, then, the idea was to try to combine two promising aids—grouping of similar characters and explanations of character composition—and see if some sort of synergistic effect might be achieved.

## 2.0. METHOD

### 2.1. Subjects

The subjects for this pilot study consisted of ten students who were about to complete an intensive summer program in Mandarin Chinese at the Interuniversity Chinese Language Program (ICLP) run by National Taiwan University in Taipei. All subjects were volunteers responding to an advertisement promising compensation of NT \$600 for two hours of time.

Of the ten students, seven considered themselves primarily monolingual native English speakers, though obviously they spoke at least a little Chinese. The others considered themselves fully bilingual—speaking Thai, Swedish, and Taiwanese, in addition to English. None had significant experience with characters prior to study in college, and I was careful to screen out native speakers of Japanese or Korean, as prior knowledge of these writing systems would give them an unfair advantage and skew the results.

The students participating in the study had lived in Taiwan or China for anywhere from 2 to 18 months, with a mean of 4.8 months ( $SD = 5.2$  months). Two of the students had begun using spoken Chinese in childhood, two had begun studies in high school, and the rest had all begun formal instruction in college. Out of the ten participants, four had family members with whom they could practice speaking Chinese on a regular basis.

While I did not feel it appropriate to ask which universities these participants were attending, my overall impression from speaking with them was that they were mostly attending highly-rated schools, and thus were a good cut above the national average in terms of academic ability. For participant background tables, see Appendix 1. Individual participants are lettered A - J. The individual data is of interest for two reasons: length of study did not guarantee a high score in recall; and length of exposure to the language seemed to correlate with unusually high recall and recognition scores. See the discussion below.

## 2.2. Materials

After signing a study-participation agreement form, the participants received a study packet containing data on 22 Chinese characters. The characters presented were from well outside the frequency level that even advanced learners are likely to know. Accordingly, none of the 22 characters were likely to be familiar to the participants.<sup>5</sup>

The study packet contained two sets of materials consisting, respectively, of eleven grouped and eleven ungrouped characters. The eleven ungrouped characters (hereinafter, "basic data" or "ungrouped characters") were random low-frequency characters presented with nothing more than their forms, readings, and meanings. In other words, they constituted the sort of traditional presentation students are likely to encounter in textbooks. The remaining eleven characters (hereinafter, "enhanced data" or "grouped characters") were grouped into three character families. Within each family, characters shared a common core component, corresponding to what is traditionally referred to as the phonetic element. As phonetic elements invariably derive from simple symbolically or pictographically motivated graphs, the core component of each family was explained in terms of its original meaning as a pictograph or compound symbol. Following that, member characters were presented with form, meaning, and reading data, together with a possible explanation for the character's composition from a motivational standpoint.<sup>6</sup> Out of the three families, two showed remarkable consistency among character readings, often differing by little more than tone, whereas the third had little consistency among its member characters. The most pertinent characteristics of the data presented to students in the study packet are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2: Characteristics of Data Sets Presented to Participants for Study

Characteristics	Basic Data (Ungrouped)	Enhanced Data (Grouped)
No. of characters	11	11
Forms, readings, and meanings given?	yes	yes
Character compositions explained?	no	yes
Phonetic consistency among characters	sporadic and accidental	somewhat consistent for historical reasons (shared phonetic component within families)
Graphical relation among characters	none (essentially random)	graphically related because within each family they share a common graphical (core) component

## 2.3. Testing Procedure

To minimize environmental effects, all study and testing took place in the ICLP library. The study packet instructions asked students to try to memorize character meanings, readings, and forms for all 22 characters. Students were told that they did not have to memorize the character explanations, but that they could use them if they found them helpful. After approximately 45 minutes they were asked to turn in the study packet and take a test (hereinafter, "Day 1 Test").

Part 1 of the test presented ten character meanings taken in equal portion from the basic and enhanced data sets. The participants' task was to write the corresponding character form. Once a student had completed Part 1 he or she handed it in so that it could not be used to answer questions in Part 2. Part 2 was then administered. Part 2 consisted of 20 character forms (ten from basic data and ten from enhanced data) with blank spaces next to them. The task was to write the corresponding meanings and readings for each character.

After completing Part 2, the participants were asked to turn in any study aids they might have created. It turned out that some had created flash cards; others, lists for practicing writing. The aim in retrieving notes and study aids was to ensure that students did not review the materials overnight. Participants were also given the impression that the only purpose for returning the next day was to submit a questionnaire on their experience. This was to further discourage them from trying to study or rehearse the characters they had learned.

On the second day roughly 24 hours later, participants took a second test in the same format as the first (hereinafter, "Day 2 Test"). Only after completing the test were they asked to fill out a questionnaire regarding their experience using the materials.

Scores for form recall (tested in Part 1) were out of 10. Scores for readings and meanings (tested in Part 2) were both out of 20. Characters were graded as correct or incorrect and awarded 1 or 0 points accordingly. In some cases a slight flaw made in depicting a complex character was forgiven. (I felt remiss in not providing stroke order charts for a number of rare components that are difficult to write.) Meanings were also graded 1 or 0, with borderline cases being awarded half a point. As for readings, they were given ½ point for the syllable and ½ point for the correct tone. Mean test score results are graphed in Figs. 1, 2, and 3 below.

#### 2.4. Study Design

The study was designed as a one-tailed repeated-measures exam with  $\alpha < .05$ . The decision to use the same subjects to test both basic and enhanced approaches to learning characters was made for two reasons: first, it is cheaper and easier to obtain the requisite number of subjects; and secondly, it avoids the danger of having subjects with different capabilities skew the results, as sometimes happens when using an independent measures test.<sup>7</sup>

The two styles of material presentation—basic and enhanced—constitute the difference between a standard presentation (a form of control) and a doctored presentation (a form of treatment). Since enhanced data had two features combined simultaneously—namely, grouping and explanations—it can be thought of as a kind of drug cocktail. Measures of performance for basic data serve as a form of control sample, whereas measures of performance for grouped characters constitute a form of treatment sample. The fact that both sets of materials were presented simultaneously does not alter the basic notion of testing with or without treatment.<sup>8</sup>

A one-tailed directional hypothesis was selected on the grounds that grouping characters and explaining them could only help students remember the meanings and forms better. I also expected reading recall to be higher for enhanced data because many of the grouped characters within two of the three families shared a similar or identical reading. In any event, it seemed unlikely that such additional data could hamper retention, as participants were free to ignore the additional information.

In addition to contrasting the efficacy of basic and enhanced data presentations generally, the study also measured changes in recall over time. Because the results for basic and enhanced materials were obtained on both days, the study therefore can be seen as having measured the treatment effect as a function of time.

There is sometimes a concern that a practice effect can taint the results of a repeated measures test. In this study, however, participants did not have access to the study materials after the first day, and so had no way to review the data. Moreover, at no point were participants given any indication that they would be retested during the follow-up visit. Finally, the character form questions differed on the second day, and the order of meaning and reading questions was altered to minimize any order-based retention. All these factors combined to minimize any potential practice effect.

Interference between basic (control) and enhanced (treatment) data was also unlikely. Any significant unfamiliar components used for grouped characters did not overlap with those for ungrouped characters, and so there was little chance that explanations about grouped characters would help participants understand the composition of ungrouped characters. Of course, certain common radicals were mentioned in the enhanced data character explanations, but these were so common that participants would already be familiar with them. On average, the phonetic components of grouped characters were more complex than those for ungrouped characters, though previous studies have shown that differences in average complexity are of little consequence.<sup>9</sup>

After the Day 2 Test, a follow-up questionnaire was administered to determine participants' reactions to the explanatory data, as well as to determine what strategies they usually used to learn characters. Because I assumed that students might use different strategies for learning forms, meanings, and readings, questions about strategy specified the stimulus-response vector involved. In this way, I hoped to avoid the common trap of asking the rather vague and unhelpful question, "How do you learn characters?" At the end of the questionnaire, participants were asked whether the additional materials were helpful, and if so, how.

### 3.0. RESULTS

#### 3.1. Day 1 Test

When tested immediately after studying the materials, participants showed no significant difference in error rate between basic and enhanced data when recalling character forms ( $t = 0$ ) or character readings ( $t = -0.04$ ). However, recall of meaning was significantly improved for the enhanced data set, with participants making over 4 times as many meaning errors for basic data ( $t = 2.13$ ,  $p < .05$ ). The effect of data enhancement as measured by Cohen's  $d$  was moderate ( $d = 0.68$ ).<sup>10</sup>

#### 3.2. Day 2 Test

When tested on the second day, recall for character forms was markedly better for the enhanced data, with participants making 2.3 times more errors for basic data ( $t = 2.96$ ,  $p < .05$ ). The effect as measured by Cohen's  $d$  was strong ( $d = 0.94$ ). When asked to recall character meanings, participants made 2.3 times as many errors with basic data ( $t = 2.06$ ,  $p < .05$ ). The Cohen effect was moderate, and nearly identical to that for the first day ( $d = .65$ ). The effect of treatment was insignificant for readings ( $t = -0.12$ ), though participants' recall for readings was minimally better for basic characters.

#### 3.3. Attrition Rates

As described earlier, this study evaluated the effect of data enhancement (grouping and explanations) as a function of time. The following tables summarize the key results from above, while the accompanying charts depict the differences quite clearly.

Table 3: Character Form Errors (Mean Scores Out of 10)

Form Errors	Grouped	Ungrouped	Total
Day 1	0.7	0.7	1.4
Day 2	1.2	2.8	4

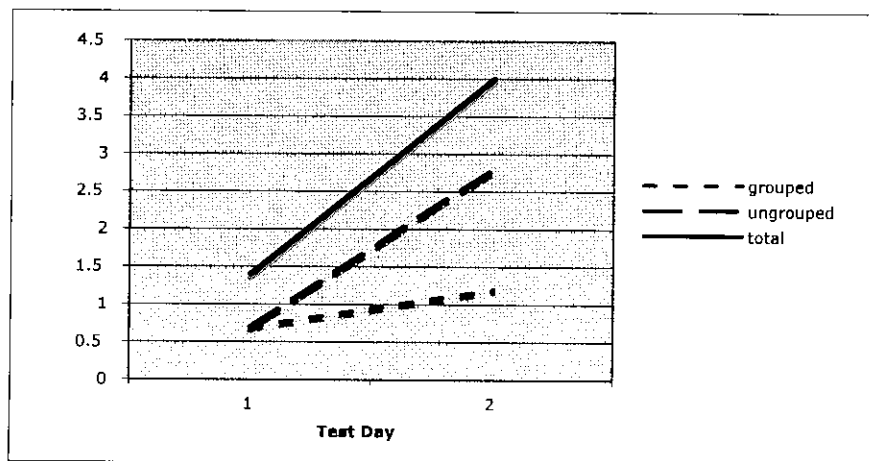


Figure 1: Attrition for Character Form

Table 4: Character Meaning Errors (Mean Scores Out of 20)

Meaning Errors	Grouped	Ungrouped	Total
Day 1	0.5	2.1	2.6
Day 2	1.3	2.95	4.25

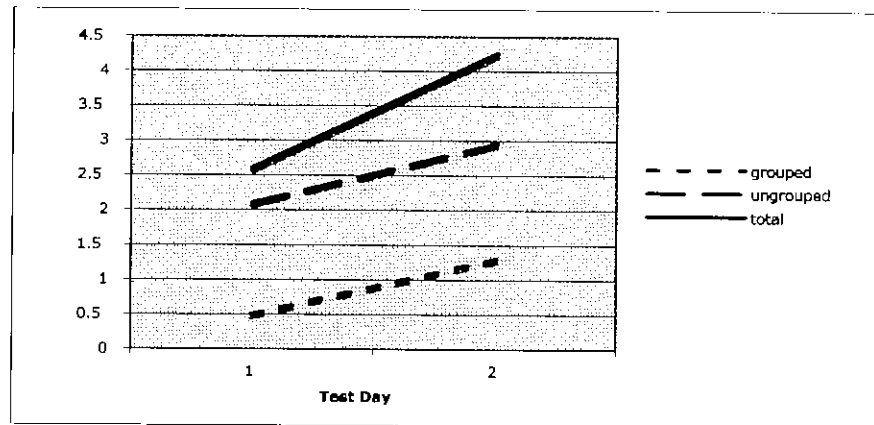


Figure 2: Attrition for Character Meaning

Table 5: Character Reading Errors (Mean Scores Out of 20)

Reading Errors	Grouped	Ungrouped	Total
Day 1	5.15	5.1	10.25
Day 2	6.6	6.45	13.05

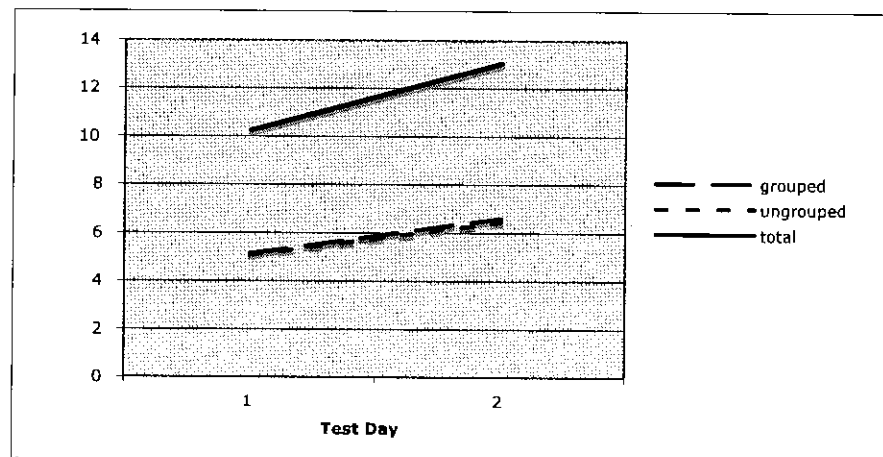


Figure 3: Attrition for Character Reading

### 3.4. General Error Rates

One of the more intriguing results of the data is that there was a significant difference in overall error rates, depending on whether participants were asked to reproduce character forms or recall meanings and readings. Participants faltered most when trying to recall character readings, as can be seen in the following table. This result contrasts sharply with student impressions of difficulty recorded by Yin (84).

Table 6: Comparison of Errors by Type with Subjective Impressions of Difficulty

	Day 1 Errors	Day 2 Errors	Students' Impressions of Difficulty
Form	14%	20%	126 (53%)
Meaning	13%	22%	33 (14%)
Reading	51%	65%	79 (33%)

In Yin's study, 53% of students felt that learning character forms was the most difficult aspect of learning characters, 33% felt that remembering the reading was the most challenging aspect, and 14% felt that recalling meanings was their greatest difficulty.

### 3.5. Learning Strategies

Previous research has suggested that graphomotor repetition (writing characters repeatedly) and using flash cards are the two most popular character learning strategies (Yin 71-73). In the present study, students used different strategies depending on whether they were trying to remember form, meaning, or reading. To learn character forms, students preferred repeated writing. To learn meanings, students showed a slight preference for flash cards over other approaches. And to learn readings, most students employed recitation. However, none of these differences was statistically significant, as the chi-square values were below the critical threshold for a sample size of  $n = 10$  at  $\alpha < .05$ . See Appendix 2 for data on learning strategy preference.

### 3.6. Attitude to Materials

Out of ten participants, eight answered "yes" when asked whether they were able to use the character composition explanations to help them remember the characters, and two answered "somewhat." No participants felt that the explanations were entirely unhelpful.

## 4.0. DISCUSSION

On Day 1, a significant treatment effect was found only for meanings. I believe this is because graphomotor repetition—a kind of a rote memorization strategy—works adequately in the short term. On the other hand, the connectedness of meanings afforded by grouping characters and explaining core phonetic components clearly helped students make fewer errors with meaning. Finally, no significant improvement in reading scores for enhanced data was found (in fact, the data shows an insignificant drop). In two of the character groups, significant similarity occurred among character readings. It is unclear why this did not help participants remember character readings, and I can only speculate that such similarities were not sufficiently emphasized, or that the participants did not understand character composition theory enough to appreciate the significance of a common phonetic. I did intentionally select character groups that did not have perfect agreement in readings, as perfect agreement would make it too easy to remember their readings. Still, I expect that with some advanced training, participants could learn to make use of the partial phonetic consistency within phonetic groups.

Although a treatment effect was found for meanings on both days, a treatment effect for form occurred only on Day 2. This suggests that rote memorization works fine in the short term, but is unlikely to "stick" in the longer term. Certainly, meaningful learning should work better than blind repetition, and this seems to explain the appearance of a strong ( $d > .80$ ) effect on Day 2. This supports the conclusion that further research into the enhanced approach to teaching characters would be fruitful.

Finally, the most jarring statistic of all is the extremely high level of errors in recalling readings compared to meaning and form. This suggests that better strategies for learning pronunciation need to be developed. Given the marked contrast with the data found in Yin, it also shows that students themselves may not be fully cognizant of this difficulty.

## 5.0. CONCLUSION

Due to financial constraints, this pilot study was conducted using a relatively small sample size of  $n = 10$ . Even so, because the data formed a somewhat normal distribution, t-statistic values serve as fairly reliable indicators of a larger population. Although grouping and explaining characters appeared to help students learn



character forms and meanings, students struggled when it came to recalling readings. I suspect that students are used to learning character readings as parts of words, and therefore may experience difficulty recalling a character's reading out of context. If true, this is a handicap that needs to be addressed. Proficient speakers easily recognize and pronounce characters in isolation, and for that reason, can more securely pronounce unfamiliar words containing characters they know. If our goal is to enable students to attain advanced proficiency, strategies for remembering character readings in isolation need to be developed. Recent emphasis on using context for understanding text should not lead to overdependence on context at the basic orthographic level.

Beyond the obvious trouble students had recalling character readings, this pilot study highlights a few other issues worthy of further exploration. To begin with, using a combination of grouping and explanation as a treatment does not elucidate the effect that each of these treatments might have individually. It could be that one factor plays a stronger role than the other, or that in combination there is some form of synergistic effect. A future pilot study should seek to determine the individual contributions made by these modifications to the data presentation.

Finally, one of the most obvious problems with a pilot study of this kind is its artificial nature. Participants learned characters, but never had a chance to use them, nor did they have a chance to review the materials. Because retesting was done very shortly after exposure to the materials (immediately after and 24 hours later), one cannot be certain how grouping and explanation would affect longer-term retention. Although grouping and explanations did appear to make a stronger mental impression in this study, in a realistic setting materials would almost certainly require more than one review to secure long-term retention. Future research should include a longer-term study on the effects of grouping and explanation in comparison to a control, with several incidences of re-exposure to the data. A number of participants admitted to not making much use of the additional information, even though it appeared to help their scores. Some training on character composition principles might help them make better use of explanations of composition.

The ultimate goal for researchers trying to decipher how students learn the Chinese orthography should be to determine the effect that character-specific training has on overall reading and writing proficiency. This is a matter that requires a far greater commitment of resources than was possible for the present pilot study. In closing, I should add that there were two participants (B and F in the tables) who far outperformed their peers, making almost no mistakes regardless of whether the characters were grouped. Looking over their background information as well as their explanations of what they did to study characters, it seems that the one thing in common was not their length of formal study (F was only a 2nd year student), but rather that they had been using spoken Chinese since childhood. While clearly two cases cannot be considered statistically significant, one has to wonder whether length of exposure does not account for their far greater capacity to correctly recall character readings. The issue of fluency, then, or comfort with the spoken language, may have a surprising effect on written language abilities like character retention. This too could be a further avenue of research.

## NOTES

1. Every participant in the present study had at least heard of, if not used, *zhongwen.com*.
2. I believe that more research needs to be done on the extent to which phonetics may play a dual role.
3. This fact is often overlooked in beginning levels of instruction, where so few characters have been taught that to ask the character for, say, "good" would yield one and only one answer (好). That, of course, is not the case at more advanced levels.
4. Kano has simplified and summarized some of Todo's analyses of word families to this end.
5. The characters were chosen from a chart of character frequency rankings compiled by Tsai. All characters were ranked above 4000, making them obscure.
6. I believe that character composition can be analyzed at at least four levels. The one that is of interest for students who want to memorize characters is the "motivational level." This level of analysis attempts to determine why the original inventor of the character decided to use the particular combination of components that he chose. For more on the possible levels of analysis, see Child.

7. In a repeated-measures test, the same students are tested twice and their scores are compared. This contrasts with an independent-measures test, wherein the students taking the first and second tests are different.
8. If the reader should find the analogy to a drug test puzzling given that both control and enhanced data were tested simultaneously using the same participants, consider a test that aims to determine whether an ointment helps with mosquito bites. One could apply two separate ointments to the same subject, one to each arm (both of which would be afflicted with bites). The one on the left might be a placebo, and the one on the right, the ointment really being tested. Because the same subject is tested using both the control and the treatment, one need not worry about inter-subject differences in healing speed. That means that each subject gives a clear measure of the treatment effect. In this study, likewise, the same students were used for enhanced and basic data, both of which were applied simultaneously. As a result, I did not have to worry about differences in memory capacity between subjects. See Gravetter & Wallnau on the advantages of repeated-measures testing.
9. Research into the effect of character complexity on learnability indicates that there is no significant correlation. For more on this topic, see Hayes.
10. The statistical analysis largely follows that suggested in Gravetter & Wallnau for repeated-measures testing.

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**APPENDIX 1: STUDENT BACKGROUND INFORMATION**

Question 1: When did you start using/studying Chinese?

	In Childhood	High School	College	Other
Total	2	2	6	0

Question 2: How many "college years" of formal instruction have you had?

	$0 < X \leq 1$	$1 < X \leq 2$	$2 < X \leq 3$	$3 < X \leq 4$
Total	4	3	0	3

Question 3: Do you regularly use Chinese with family members?

	Yes	No
Total	4	6

Question 4: What is the total amount of time you have lived in China or Taiwan? (months)

A	10
B	2
C	3
D	18
E	3
F	2
G	3
H	2
I	2.5
J	2.5
Total	48
Mean	4.8
Std. Dev.	5.22

**APPENDIX 2: STUDENT STRATEGIES AND REACTION TO ADDITIONAL INFORMATION**

Question 1a: Strategy most used to remember character's shape (higher values indicate greater use)

	Visualization	Flash Cards	Writing	Part Analysis	Recitation
Mean	2.7	2.5	4.3	2.8	1.9
Std. Dev.	1.7	2.17	1.06	1.55	1.2
Preference					
Ranking	3	4	1	2	5

Question 1b: Strategy most used to remember the character's sound (higher values indicate greater use)

	Visualization	Flash Cards	Writing	Part Analysis	Recitation
Mean	2.3	2.7	3	1.7	4
Std. Dev.	2.16	2.16	1.49	1.25	0.82
Preference					
Ranking	4	3	2	5	1

Question 1c: Strategy most used to remember the character's meaning (higher values indicate greater use)

	Visualization	Flash Cards	Writing	Part Analysis	Recitation
Mean	2.2	2.9	2.8	2.8	2.5
Std. Dev.	2.3	2.28	1.4	2.04	1.27
Preference					
Ranking	5	1	2.5	2.5	4

Question 2: Were you able to use component information to help remember characters?

	Yes	Somewhat	No
Total	8	2	0

# THE SEMANTIC ACQUISITION OF THE UNIVERSAL QUANTIFIER “EVERY”

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## ABSTRACT

English-speaking children are claimed to interpret sentences such as *Every boy is riding an elephant* as requiring that each boy is riding an elephant and that each elephant is being ridden by a boy, in contrast with adult native speakers requiring only that each boy is riding an elephant. The present study shows that Korean adult L2 learners of English also misinterpret sentences containing *every*. However, their non-target interpretation may be attributed to L1 influence. In addition, adult native speakers of English also produce inconsistent responses to some sentences containing the universal quantifier *every*.

## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

In recent years, many researchers have paid much attention to children’s interpretation of sentences with universally quantified expressions (Roeper & de Villiers, 1991; Philip, 1995; Crain et al., 1996; Kang, 2001). It has been observed cross-linguistically that children learning a first language go through a stage where their interpretation of sentences containing the universal quantifier (UQ) *every* often differs from that of adult speakers. For instance, when shown a picture with three boys holding one balloon each and another balloon floating next to them and asked, “Is every boy holding a balloon?,” children between the ages of three and five answer “No.” They justify their negative response by pointing to the floating balloon that is not being held. Conversely, when shown a picture with three boys holding one balloon each and an extra boy without a balloon and asked, “Is a boy holding every balloon?,” they deny that a boy is holding every balloon because of the presence of the isolated boy. Both of these child responses are inconsistent with those of adults in that children allow the UQ *every* to refer to two nouns rather than one and they do so in a variety of experiments. This phenomenon, which is termed ‘quantifier spreading’ by Philip (e.g. 1991, 1995), is widespread.

Yet, no study on quantifier spreading in second language acquisition had been done until DelliCarpini’s (2003) pilot study titled “Developmental stages in the semantic acquisition of quantification by adult L2 learners of English.” In this pilot study, she investigated the interpretation of sentences that contain the UQ *every* by adult L2 learners of English with a variety of L1 backgrounds. DelliCarpini (2003) found that, similar to the subjects in the child studies, participants produced quantifier spreading errors and that the error rates of low proficiency students were higher than those of high proficiency students.

Since DelliCarpini’s (2003) study is the only study related to quantifier spreading in L2 acquisition, the scarcity of research was enough to inspire me to investigate the issues of L2 semantic acquisition of English UQ with respect to a homogeneous L1 background group such as Korean. In addition, because her paper reports the preliminary results without substantive explanation, the study deserves more replications in order to verify the accuracy of the results. In this light, this paper is based as a replication of DelliCarpini’s (2003) pilot study.

First, I briefly review prior studies on L1 acquisition of the UQ *every*, specifically comparing two conflicting analyses of the L1 data proposed by Philip (1995) and Crain et al. (1996). Then I discuss DelliCarpini’s (2003) study on L2 acquisition of English quantification followed by research questions of the current study. Next, I report the details of the present replication experiment. Finally, I discuss the findings of this experiment.

## 2.0. LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1. L1 Acquisition of the UQ *every*

Initially, Inhelder & Piaget (1964) treated the behavior of children with regard to quantifier phenomena as a cognitive matter, a result of their inability to distinguish part-whole relationships among sets. On the other hand, Roeper & Matthei (1974) attempted to explain children’s errors from a purely linguistic point of view, suggesting that children’s quantifiers behaved like adverbs. This explanation was addressed more systematically by Philip (1995) through his empirical and theoretical study within the generative framework.

Currently, two conflicting accounts of first language acquisition of the UQ *every* have been proposed, a linguistic one proposed by Philip (1995) and a non-linguistic one by Crain et al. (1996). These accounts differ in that the former attributes children's misinterpretation of universal quantification to their non-adult linguistic knowledge. The latter simply denies that children have non-adult interpretation for UQ sentences. First, let me review the account in Philip (1995).

Philip claims that children prefer agent-object symmetrical interpretations with universal quantification, focusing on the fact that children give a non-adult-like response when the contexts do not satisfy visual symmetry like examples (1) and (2). For the following schema, the negative response children give to the question (1) and (2) are called a 'symmetrical response,' which demands symmetry between agents and objects in the context (where B=boy, R=rabbit, ↔=feeding).

- (1) Is every boy feeding a rabbit?  
 B1↔R1      B2↔R2      B3↔R3      R4
- (2) Is a boy feeding every rabbit?  
 B1↔R1      B2↔R2      B3↔R3      B4

It was also observed that in a context that has other participants, such as the fox in example (3), children sometimes respond negatively because of the lack of an agent for the extra different object. Philip (1995) calls the non-adult negative answer to (3) the 'exhaustive response' (where B=boy, R=rabbit, O=fox, ↔=feeding).

- (3) Is every boy feeding a rabbit?  
 B1↔R1      B2↔R2      B3↔R3      O

Philip (1995) argues that children, unlike adults, allow the domain of the determiner *every* to extend to all noun phrases in the sentence. Also children are seen to use the UQ *every* to quantify over events, whereas for adults, this determiner quantifier must range over individuals. Adopting the tripartite framework, the different semantic representation by children and adults for a sentence like *Every boy is feeding a rabbit* are given in (4) and (5) respectively.

- (4) 

<u>Quantifier</u>	<u>Restrictor</u>	<u>Nuclear Scope</u>
Every (e)	[PART (Boy, e) or PART (Rabbit, e)]	Boy-is-feeding-a-rabbit (e)

*Interpretation:* 'For all events *e*, in which a boy participates or in which a rabbit participates (or both), a boy is feeding a rabbit in *e*.'
- (5) 

<u>Quantifier</u>	<u>Restrictor</u>	<u>Nuclear Scope</u>
Every (x)	Boy (x)	Boy (x)-is-feeding-a-rabbit

*Interpretation:* 'For all *x*, where *x* is a boy, *x* is feeding a rabbit.'

Philip (1995) claims that the mechanism by children in (4) is analogous to a quantificational adverb like *always* in the adult grammar. The truth conditions of the exhaustive interpretation are the most stringent, followed by the symmetrical interpretation, and then the adult interpretation, in that order. Based on this analysis to the UQ *every*, he assumes that the quantification mechanism of children is based on linguistic principles that are part of the adult linguistic system. Therefore, on Philip's (1995) linguistic account, "the child performance ... is indicative of a stage in the acquisition of universal quantification during which the child often does not apply the linguistic principles that govern an adult-like reading of a determiner universal quantifier..." (p.3). That is, Philip (1995) contends that quantification is a natural acquisition process determined by UG, and children proceed through natural developmental stages.

In contrast to Philip's (1995) analysis, Crain et al. (1996) present the non-linguistic account. They argue against the position that children lack knowledge of any aspect of universal quantification. Presenting empirical and theoretical difficulties with the linguistic account, they claim that children's symmetrical interpretation is an error caused by a flaw in experimental design, which is not raised if 'felicitous' contexts are provided. Their explanation of the pragmatic infelicity in Philip's (1995) experiment is as follows:

It is appropriate to ask a Yes/No question only if it is plausible to entertain both “Yes” and “No” answers. In the studies we have reviewed, only the “yes” answer was associated with the adult interpretation: the “No” answer was not. Therefore, the test questions were pragmatically infelicitous on the adult interpretation. The test questions were appropriate; however, if they were interpreted to be about the symmetry between the subject and object NPs. Presented with a question that is felicitous only on an ungrammatical reading, children sometimes override their grammatical knowledge in order to assign a pragmatically felicitous interpretation. (Crain et al., 1996, p.114)

In other words, Crain et al. (1996) claim that test questions should satisfy ‘the condition of plausible dissent,’ which asserts that the negative judgment of the proposition in the Yes/No question can also be a possibility. The possibility of a negative answer has to be presented explicitly in the context. Crain et al. used a modified methodology called the Truth Value Judgment Task. This task has contexts satisfying the condition of plausible dissent. The results reported 88% correct responses from the children who had shown symmetrical responses in the previous experimental condition. Based on the results, they drew the conclusion that children’s non-adult responses in the Philip’s (1995) research was due to a flaw in the experimental design, i.e., the dissatisfaction of the condition of plausible dissent, and that children have full linguistic knowledge of universal quantification.

On the basis of these two conflicting analyses of L1 acquisition of the UQ *every*, DelliCarpini (2003) constructed hypotheses relating to the L2 acquisition of the UQ *every* with adult learners from different L1 backgrounds.

## 2.2. DelliCarpini’s (2003) pilot study

DelliCarpini (2003) explored whether adult learners of English as a second language also experience difficulty in the interpretation of the UQ *every*. The effect of L1 was also investigated to a certain degree. There were 60 subjects in her study, divided into low and high proficiency groups, from various L1 backgrounds. The experimental method was based on Crain et al. (1996). The hypotheses for the study were based on the two accounts of L1 acquisition of quantification: (i) Linguistic account: “L2 learners will experience difficulty with quantified sentences in English, regardless of their L1, assuming that the acquisition of quantification is a natural developmental stage in language acquisition constrained by UG” (DelliCarpini, 2003, p. 58); (ii) Non-linguistic account: Since adult learners have the pragmatic principles in place to overcome the pragmatic infelicitous conditions in test sentences, adult L2 learners should have no difficulty with the task.

The results of the study showed that adult ESL learners often misinterpret UQ sentences, exhibiting the same type of interpretative errors as observed in children learning an L1. The error rates of the low proficiency group in the scope assignment of *every* exceeded 61% regardless of participants’ L1. In contrast, high proficiency participants’ error rates were 28% and correlated to the participants’ L1. Based on these findings, DelliCarpini (2003) discusses L2 acquisition of quantification in the spirit of Philip’s (1991, 1992, 1995) linguistic account as follows:

[...] the acquisition of semantic principles necessary to interpret quantified sentences is constrained by Universal Grammar, since adult subjects presumably have adult pragmatics in place. Like the subjects in the child studies, participants in this study are operating with a grammar not consistent with the target grammar and ... the errors are evidence of developmental stages in semantic acquisition with interlanguage forms surfacing. (p.55)

DelliCarpini (2003) also argues that her results are related to learnability issues and the maturational hypothesis in L1 and L2 acquisition and for theories of SLA in general. She claims that the results from the study point to an analysis that moves away from maturational explanation and towards the emergence of developmental stages in the acquisition of quantification.

Roeper, Strauss, & Pearson (2004) note that DelliCarpini’s (2003) work on L2 acquisition renders direct support for the linguistic account of children’s quantifier spreading, given that second language learners also pass through a stage of spreading. According to Roeper et al., DelliCarpini’s finding suggests that “[quantifier spreading] is not a factor of child cognition (Inhelder & Piaget, 1964) nor of language-independent child pragmatics (Crain et al., 1996)... but rather challenge of grammar construction which confronts L1 and L2 alike” (Roeper et al., 2004, p.2).

DelliCarpini's (2003) study is noteworthy because it is a pioneering work regarding L2 acquisition of quantification. Her results also provide interesting insights into the controversial issue regarding quantification within children's L1 acquisition. However, concerning idiosyncratic complexity in L2 acquisition, more substantive explanation and in-depth analysis should have been given to make a claim that UG governs the interpretation and acquisition of the UQ *every* in second language learners.

Furthermore, a different type of response, not found in L1 children's responses, was found in both the L2 groups. The following examples illustrate 'Existential Wide Scope' (EWS) responses, where the existential quantifier *a* has a wide scope over the UQ *every* (where *g*=girl, *r*=rabbit,  $\leftrightarrow$ = feeding).

- (6)  $g \leftrightarrow r$                        $g \leftrightarrow r$                        $g \leftrightarrow r$                       *g*  
 Test item: Every girl is feeding a rabbit.  
 EWS response: No, different rabbits [more than one rabbit].
- (7)  $g \leftrightarrow r$                        $g \leftrightarrow r$                        $g \leftrightarrow r$                       *g*  
 Test item: A girl is feeding every rabbit.  
 EWS response: No, different girls [more than one girl]. (DelliCarpini, 2003, p.61)

This response raises some problems concerning DelliCarpini's (2003) conclusion that favors the linguistic account. First, as long as EWS responses exist among L2 learners regardless of proficiency, the claim of a developmental stage by UG cannot be fully supported. This is because the property of L1 children's errors is not totally equivalent to that of L2 adults. Secondly, DelliCarpini (2003) notes that there were 0% EWS responses in a control group which consisted of 30 native speakers of English. However, according to Schmidt (personal communication, March 2005), there are some native speakers of English who have EWS responses.

This casts doubt upon the reliability of DelliCarpini's experimental results. Since adults are used to taking tests, they are liable to be compliant with what the tests measure. In particular, DelliCarpini included only 4 distractors out of 32 test questions in the picture identification task. This number of distractor items does not appropriately control for rote responses to the test questions. Also the questions required only either a *yes* or *no* answer and thus the acceptability or naturalness of some test sentences might be neglected. Overall, the insufficient and oversimplified explanation of L2 acquisition of quantification and inadequate study design are likely to affect the level of replicability of the study.

DelliCarpini (2003) briefly mentions L1 influence of the interpretation of the quantified sentences while explaining EWS responses of the participants from Chinese, Japanese, and Korean L1 background. In the high proficiency group of her study, participants from these L1 backgrounds accounted for 100% of the EWS responses, which she assumes is because those languages follow linear order as the main determiner of the quantifier scope. With respect to Korean participants, they must have been influenced by their L1 in judging appropriateness of some test sentences. Indeed, Korean language exhibits scope rigidity for some quantifying sentences (Kim, 1989; Marsden, 2004). For the following sentence in example (8), Koreans simply interpret with linear order: 'There is some girl, such that for all windows, she is washing them.' The object-wide scope interpretation, 'for each window, a girl is washing it,' is not available in Korean.

- (8) Sonye-ka    motun    yulichang-ul    takk-koiss-ta.  
 girl-NOM    every    window-ACC    wash-PRS.PROG-DECL  
 'A girl is washing every window.'

However, when the grammatical positions of the quantifiers are reversed like in example (9), the meaning is ambiguous as in English: both a single-referent and a multiple-referent interpretation for an indefinite object.

- (9) Motun    sonye-ka    yulichang-ul    takk-koiss-ta.  
 Every    girl-NOM    window-ACC    wash-PRS.PROG-DECL  
 'Every girl is washing a window.'

In order to see this L1 influence in the acquisition of L2 quantification in detail, it would be advantageous to conduct the experiment with only the participants whose language has the linguistic feature of scope rigidity as Korean does.



Obviously, DelliCarpini's study deserves more replications with more refined methodological approaches as well as with subjects with homogeneous L1 backgrounds in order to examine L1 influence. The present study attempts to answer the following questions: (i) How do Korean ESL learners interpret the UQ in English? Do they answer in a way similar to children acquiring a first language? (ii) Does the L1 have an influence on the interpretation of English UQ? (iii) Do native speakers of English also exhibit EWS responses?

### 3.0. EXPERIMENT

The experiment for the present study consists of two tasks, a Picture Identification Task (PI task) replicated from DelliCarpini (2003) and a Sentence Continuation Task (SC task) based on Kurtzman & MacDonald (1993). The goal of the PI task was to test participants on their knowledge of *every* by reproducing DelliCarpini's experiment, whereas the SC task was complementarily designed to draw out a likely EWS response by English participants derived from the PI task. The tasks were administered in sequence and both were pencil and paper tasks. The PI task was given first.

#### 3.1. Method

##### 3.1.1. Subjects

Eighteen students at the University of Hawaii at Manoa and two missionaries at Youth with a Mission, whose L1 was Korean, participated in this study. The student-participants consisted of 11 graduate students enrolled in a variety of academic programs and seven students from an ESL program. All the participants ranged in age from 19 to 40 with a mean age of 28.2 years. They were divided into two groups based on proficiency level by TOEFL (CBT) score. Low proficiency group (n=10) had TOEFL scores in the 103-197 point range, with an average of 147; high proficiency group (n=10) had TOEFL scores in the 213-290 point range, with an average of 253. The length of stay in English-speaking countries was also considered: Participants in the low proficiency group have lived for less than six months in an English-speaking country, with an average of 0.21 year; those in the high proficiency group have lived for more than one year, with an average of 3.89 years. As a control group, 10 native speakers of English ranging in age from 20 to 45 were included. None of the participants had ever participated in a similar study.

##### 3.1.2. Test sentences

The test sentences in both tasks were constructed to investigate the phenomenon of right quantifier spreading with the order of *every* in the subject position and *a singular noun* in the object position, or the phenomenon of left quantifier spreading with *a singular noun* in the subject position and *every* in the object position. For each structure, the types of verb, a transitive verb and an intransitive verb, also were considered. Thus the test sentences were classified into four groups as follows:

- Group 1: Right quantifier spreading with a transitive verb (RT): *Every boy is holding a balloon.*
- Group 2: Right quantifier spreading with an intransitive verb (RINT): *Every bird is in a cage.*
- Group 3: Left quantifier spreading with a transitive verb (LT): *A cat is chasing every mouse.*
- Group 4: Left quantifier spreading with an intransitive verb (LINT): *There is a hat on every chair.*<sup>1</sup>

##### 3.1.3. Materials & procedures

*PI Task.* In the PI task, six different control contexts were tested for each group of test sentences.

Context 1: Extra object condition

(e.g., There are three boys holding a balloon each and one balloon not being held.)

Context 2: Extra agent condition

(e.g., There are three boys riding a bike each and one boy walking.)

Context 3: Extra different agent condition

(e.g., There are three girls reading a book each and one boy just sitting on a chair.)

Context 4: Different agent condition

(e.g., Three rabbits are eating a carrot each, and one pig is also eating a carrot.)

Context 5: Non-distributive condition

(e.g., There are three girls standing and one of them is flying three kites alone.)

Context 6: Different object condition

(e.g., Three girls are carrying a suitcase each and one girl is carrying an umbrella.)

In this manner, the PI task consisted of 24 actual test sentences and 10 filler items to control for rote responses to the test sentences. In the filler items, other quantifying determiners such as *each*, *all*, *three*, *etc.*, served as distractors.

Participants were shown pictures individually and asked to judge how appropriately each sentence matched the corresponding picture, using a three-choice answer item given on their answer sheets: (a) 'perfectly appropriate'; (b) 'appropriate, but \_\_\_\_\_'; (c) 'not appropriate at all, because \_\_\_\_\_.' If either item (b) or (c) was chosen, participants were asked to write down a reason for their choices. In each trial, an experimenter displayed a picture with the attached sentence strip for a few seconds. Each test sentence strip was folded. The characters and actions depicted in each picture were discussed with the participants to check whether or not participants were aware of the details of the pictures. Then the test sentence strip was unfolded and participants were encouraged to read the sentence aloud. Judgments about each item were made within at least 20 seconds of viewing each picture and sentence together. Prior to the actual PI task being preceded, two warm-up items were provided with detailed instructions. Then the actual task was given. The PI task lasted approximately 25 minutes.

The test sentences were not written on the answer sheet but printed under the picture for the reliability of the participants' answer. This design was adapted from Marsden's (2004) study. According to her description, when the test sentences were written on an answer sheet, participants easily noticed the similarities between the test items and looked back at their previous ratings for similar sentences. This might tempt them to change answers retrospectively, which seriously threatens the reliability of the ratings. In this respect, the method of the current study was expected to increase the reliability of the data.

*SC Task.* The SC task was composed of 12 actual test sentences with three test items for each group. Seven filler items with the same distractors as those in the PI task were included in the SC task. The SC task was intended to discover which quantifier phrase, *every* NP or *a* NP, in the doubly-quantified test sentences was favored in the interpretation, that is, to assess scope preferences. Each test sentence was provided with two continuation sentences as in the following example:

- (10) *Test item:* Every boy is holding a balloon.  
*Continuation:* (a) The balloon is yellow. (b) The balloons are all yellow.

Participants were asked to read each test sentence in written format and to select a natural continuation sentence out of two items for the given test sentence. Their responses were obtained in writing. If both items make sense to them, they could indicate the items in the order of the preference. The task lasted approximately eight minutes. Progression through the trials was self-paced.

## 3.2. Results

### 3.2.1. PI task

The present study was initially intended to replicate DelliCarpini's (2003) experiment on spreading errors in adult learners of English as a second language with a single homogeneous L1 background group. Thus the target responses by the NS group for the data analysis are expected to be the same as the responses identified in the prior study. In other words, in order to compare the results of the current experiment with those of DelliCarpini's, the target responses from both control NS groups should be in agreement since the contexts of the test sentences were equivalent. However, before discussing the L2 results, it should be noted that there were some inconsistent responses among NS-group participants for some test items in the PI task. Due to this unexpected result from the NS group, the data was analyzed twice: (i) by means of the target responses identified in the previous literature; (ii) based on the responses of the current NS group excluding the test items that were variably responded to.

In analyzing results of the PI task, responses of the answer item (a) or (b) were considered to indicate acceptance of a picture-sentence pairing, responses of the answer item (c) were considered to indicate rejection. Out of the responses, two kinds of non-target responses were found: (i) symmetry responses, which are compatible with English L1 children's spreading errors; (ii) EWS responses, which are not compatible with L1 errors.

*Analysis 1.* As shown in Table 1, lower proficiency participants produced errors 25.4% of the time. Symmetry errors accounted for 36.1% of the non-target responses, whereas EWS responses accounted for

59.0% of the time. On the other hand, higher proficiency participants exhibited a lower rate of non-target responses, 21.7%, with symmetry responses accounting for 28.8%, and EWS responses for 65.4%. Thus, there was no major difference between the low and high proficiency groups in the proportion of the two types. The NS group in this task also produced errors 12.5% of the time. The NS participants provided symmetry responses 40% of the time, and EWS responses 60% of the time. Notably, these results of the current study showed that there was no considerable difference in overall error rates between the NS group and two Korean groups.

Table 1: Error Rates on the PI task <sup>2</sup>

	Total non-target responses	Symmetry responses	EWS responses
Low Proficiency	25.4% (61/240)	36.1% (22/61)	59.0% (36/61)
High Proficiency	21.7% (52/240)	28.8% (15/52)	65.4% (34/52)
NS group	12.5% (30/240)	40.0% (12/30)	60.0% (18/30)

Note: The raw numbers of errors are indicated in parentheses.

These results demonstrate quite a different error pattern than that observed in DelliCarpini's (2003) pilot study of L2 learners of English with various L1, shown in Table 2. In DelliCarpini's results, error in the low proficiency group occurred 61% of the time and the high proficiency group produced errors 28% of the time, and the distributional ratio of symmetry responses and EWS responses in her two groups diverged dramatically. The distributional ratio was 2.3 to 1 in the low proficiency group and 0.55 to 1 in the high proficiency group, whereas it turned out to be very similar in the present study.

Table 2: Error Rates on the PI task by DelliCarpini (2003)

	Total non-target responses	Symmetry responses	EWS responses
Low Proficiency	61%	70%	30%
High Proficiency	28%	35%	64%

Furthermore, according to DelliCarpini (2003), only one native speaker had access to a symmetrical reading 10% of the time and there were no EWS responses in her NS group. However, in the present study, the distribution of the two types of responses in the NS group is similar to the one in the Korean groups. More precisely, 6 out of 10 native speakers in this study could access a symmetrical reading and five responded with EWS errors.

Also, in contrast to DelliCarpini's study, which showed no difference between right quantifier spreading and left quantifier spreading occurrences, the present study exhibited a considerable difference between right and left quantifier spreading regardless of the three experiment groups. Left quantifier spreading errors were found drastically more frequent than right quantifier spreading errors, as reported in Table 3. Particularly, EWS responses predominated in left quantifier spreading errors in the case of transitive sentences: 71.4% of low proficiency, 81.3% of high proficiency, and 72.2% of the NS group.

Table 3: Error Rates on the PI task: Right Quantifier Spreading vs. Left Quantifier Spreading

		RT	RINT	LT	LINT
Low Proficiency	Total	0.0% (0/60)	16.7% (10/60)	58.3% (35/60)	26.7% (16/60)
	Symmetry R.	0.0% (0/0)	60.0% (6/10)	28.6% (8/35)	50.0% (8/16)
	EWS R.	0.0% (0/0)	40.0% (4/10)	71.4% (24/35)	50.0% (8/16)
High Proficiency	Total	0.0% (0/60)	13.3% (8/60)	53.3% (32/60)	20.0% (12/60)
	Symmetry R.	0.0% (0/0)	100% (8/8)	9.4% (3/32)	33.3% (4/12)
	EWS R.	0.0% (0/0)	0.0% (0/8)	81.3% (26/32)	66.7% (8/12)
NS group	Total	3.3% (2/60)	8.3% (5/60)	30.0% (18/60)	8.3% (5/60)
	Symmetry R.	100% (2/2)	100% (5/5)	27.8% (5/18)	0.0% (0/5)
	EWS R.	0.0% (0/2)	0.0% (0/5)	72.2% (13/18)	100% (5/5)

Note: RT = right quantifier spreading with a transitive verb, RINT = right quantifier spreading with an intransitive verb, LT = left quantifier spreading with a transitive verb, LINT = left quantifier spreading with an intransitive verb.

*Analysis 2.* In the first analysis, the results were obtained with previously established adult responses of English. This time the data was analyzed based on the responses made by the control group which consisted of ten native speakers of English. Since the current NS participants yielded inconsistent responses to some test items, those items, 5 out of 24 actual test items, were discarded and the errors out of the remaining 19 test items were calculated. One test item from the right quantifier spreading test sentences with an intransitive verb, three from the left quantifier spreading test sentences with a transitive verb, and one from the left quantifier spreading test sentences with an intransitive verb were discarded. In the remaining test items, each of three speakers in the NS group was able to access a symmetrical reading 5.3% (1/19) of the time and two speakers were able to 10.6% (2/19) of the time. One speaker had 5.3% (1/19) EWS response. Overall error rates are reported in Tables 4 and 5.

Table 4: Error Rates on the PI task

	Total non-target responses	Symmetry responses	EWS responses
Low Proficiency	13.2% (25/190)	52.0% (13/25)	36.0% (9/25)
High Proficiency	11.6% (22/190)	45.5% (10/22)	40.9% (9/22)

Table 5: Error Rates on the PI task: Right Quantifier Spreading vs. Left Quantifier Spreading

		RT	RINT	LT	LINT
Low Proficiency	Total	0.0% (0/60)	14.0% (7/50)	33.3% (10/30)	16.0% (8/50)
	Symmetry R.	0.0% (0/0)	42.9% (3/7)	20.0% (2/10)	100% (8/8)
	EWS R.	0.0% (0/0)	57.1% (4/7)	50.0% (5/10)	0.0% (0/8)
High Proficiency	Total	0.0% (0/60)	12.0% (6/50)	36.7% (11/30)	10.0% (5/50)
	Symmetry R.	0.0% (0/0)	100% (6/6)	0.0% (0/11)	80.0% (4/5)
	EWS R.	0.0% (0/0)	0.0% (0/6)	72.7% (8/11)	20.0% (1/5)

Compared with the first data analysis, the error rates of both groups decreased. Yet, still low proficiency participants produced slightly higher error rates than high proficiency participants did. Interestingly, the balance between the two types of responses is the reverse of that in the first analysis, especially for the low proficiency group. In other words, when all responses were included (as in the first analysis), EWS responses

predominated, but when items that NS participants responded to inconsistently were removed (as in analysis two), then there was a little higher rate of symmetry responses for both groups. The change in the ratio of the two kinds of responses was attributed to the two discarded test items that belonged to left quantifier spreading test sentences with a transitive verb. Referring to Table 3 above, most of EWS responses were found in this test sentence group. These two items, in particular, elicited non-target responses among most Korean participants. As in the first analysis, errors on left quantifier spreading test sentences were found higher than on right quantifier spreading ones.

In general, the second analysis also demonstrated that the distribution of the two types of errors came out similarly among two groups in contrast to DelliCarpini's (2003) results.

### 3.2.2. SC Task

In the SC task, it was found that Korean participants in both groups were inclined to have high many-to-one or one-to-many readings for the ambiguous quantifying sentences. This reading means that the existential quantifier *a* NP takes wide scope over the universal quantifier *every* NP and thus might be compatible with EWS responses in the PI task. More than half the Korean participants' answers for the continuations of the test sentences were items with singular-NP subjects. Low proficiency participants chose 50% existential wide scope and high proficiency participants chose 59.2% of the time. Regardless of the verb type and the position of quantifiers, Korean L2 groups were able to access existential wide scope reading. Also there were small differences among the four test sentence groups as shown in Table 6.

Table 6: Overall Rates of Selecting the Continuation Sentences with Singular-NP Subjects <sup>3</sup>

	Total	RT	RINT	LT	LINT
Low Proficiency	50.0% (60/120)	36.7% (11/30)	63.3% (19/30)	70.0% (21/30)	30.0% (9/30)
High Proficiency	59.2% (71/120)	56.7% (17/30)	63.3% (19/30)	86.7% (26/30)	30.0% (9/30)
NS group	20.0% (24/120)	3.3% (1/30)	16.7% (5/30)	56.7% (17/30)	3.3% (1/30)

In the meantime, 20% of the responses of the NS group yielded wide scope of existential quantifier *a* without showing the availability of the inverse scope interpretation. There was a significant effect for quantifier order and verb type. When the test sentence consisted of the existential quantifier subject with a transitive verb (LT), 56.7% of responses of the NS participants were many-to-one or one-to-many readings. On the other hand, there was only one existential wide scope reading found in the both right quantifier spreading with a transitive verb (RT) and left quantifier spreading with an intransitive verb (LINT) groups.

## 4.0. DISCUSSION

Considered together, the results from the current replication study provide a different view than that of DelliCarpini's (2003) pilot study on L2 acquisition of the UQ *every*. The results indicate that there is a misinterpretation of sentences that contain the UQ *every* by Korean adult ESL learners; however, this study does not support DelliCarpini's claim that the interlanguage grammar of adult ESL learners is the same as the child L1 grammars with relation to the interpretation of the UQ *every*. Let us turn to discuss each research question of the current study in detail.

*Q1. How do Korean ESL learners interpret the UQ in English? Do they answer in a way similar to children acquiring a first language?* This study finds that Korean participants misinterpreted some English UQ sentences without any major difference between low and high proficiency learners on the PI task. Although learners with higher L2 proficiency performed a little better on the UQ interpretation in the task, the slight difference in error rates does not fully ascertain the existence of a developmental stage in semantic acquisition of the UQ by Korean adult L2 learners of English. Given the noticeable disparity between the two experimental groups with regard to TOEFL score and the length of stay in English-speaking countries, the present results cannot be ascribed to the distribution of the two Korean proficiency groups.

Like English L1 children, Korean experimental groups showed quantifier spreading errors. Yet, note that their symmetry responses occurred almost equivalently between the two Korean groups. This finding contradicts DellCarpini's study in which the radical decline of symmetry errors as L2 speakers move from lower proficiency to higher proficiency serves evidence of developmental stages that parallels L1 acquisition. Thus the current study renders a refutation of DellCarpini's claim that grammar construction confronts L1 and L2 alike in acquisition of the UQ. Even though learners' symmetry responses suggest that they misinterpret the UQ *every* as an adverbial quantifier similar to L1 children (cf. Philip 1995), this study's findings do not agree with DellCarpini's linguistic account regarding English UQ acquisition of adult L2 learners within the UG framework. If this is because the predominant preference to EWS responses derived from Korean L1 interference affects the occurrence of the symmetry responses, acquisition of the English UQ by L2 learners should be interpreted language-specifically. By this logic, DellCarpini's assumption that quantification is a universally constrained aspect of language acquisition is undermined.

*Q2. Does the L1 have an influence on the interpretation of English UQ?* As expected from the previous study, Korean L2 adults did make errors arising from L1 influence. This factor was reflected by EWS errors in the case of left quantifier spreading test sentences. Considering the distribution of EWS responses carefully, EWS errors on left quantifier spreading test sentences were found at a significantly higher rate than on right spreading ones, for both experimental groups. This higher rate occurred, in particular, in cases where the sentences consisted of a transitive verb. This points out that the rigidity of linear order, a linguistic feature of Korean language, constrains target-like responses to English quantifying sentences. Since Korean permits only the forward scope interpretation for the sentences equivalent to left quantifier spreading English test sentences, most of those test sentences were answered with EWS responses. This finding is maintained in the SC task; left quantifier spreading test sentences were ranked the highest in selecting the continuations with singular-NP subjects in both proficiency groups.

On the other hand, as discussed above with the example (9), when *every* NP is in the subject position and *a* NP is in the object, i.e., right quantifier spreading sentences, this pattern is ambiguous in Korean. Due to the lack of an indefinite article *a* in Korean, Korean speakers normally interpret *a* as the numeral *one*, which is also one of the existential quantifiers. According to Kwon, Kim, Moon, Nam, & Jeon (1997), the following Korean sentence including the numeral *one* has two readings: a single-referent and a multiple-referent interpretation for the indefinite object.

- (11) Motun haksayng-i han nolay-lul cohaha-n-ta.  
 every student-NOM one song-ACC like-PRS-DECL  
 'Every student likes one song.'

Since this ambiguity is also found in English, the few EWS responses from right quantifier spreading test sentences cannot be claimed as an L1 influence.

*Q3. Do native speakers of English also exhibit EWS responses?* Lastly, this study finds that the adult native speakers of English also exhibit EWS responses on the PI task. This result was endorsed by one important finding in the SC task; 20% of native speakers' answers in the SC task were continuations with the singular-NP subject. This result provides evidence that EWS responses were available to adult native speakers. Moreover, it suggests that the EWS responses of the NS group in the PI task should not be ascribed to a flaw in design or methodology in the present experiment. Concerning the target responses, most target responses identified from the previous literature seem to be in favor of the UQ wide scope reading. In fact, this was evidenced by the three examples from left quantifier spreading test sentences in the PI task that exhibited conflicting answers among native speakers. Whereas these conflicting answers include EWS responses, the target responses drawn from the previous studies were all biased toward UQ wide scope reading. Since this is the case, the essential idea that doubly quantifying sentences are ambiguous depending on quantifier scopes may be challenged.

*Analysis of Corpora.* Interestingly, native speakers revealed their difficulty with the acceptability of some test items by choosing answer item (b) in the PI task. Their notes, such as 'but it sounds odd and awkward,' 'but it's not clear,' 'but it is better to say...', and so on, direct me to consider pragmatic felicity

related to the disparity between the test sentences and those in actual usage. In fact, the following frequency analysis of the UQ sentences from two written corpora, the tagged Brown Corpus (Brown) and one section of the British National Corpus (BNC, section A: A0-AA), provides certain evidence for these participants' reactions to some test sentences.

Table 7: Overall Frequencies of the UQ Sentences (unit: # of raw instances)

	Brown (1,141,044 words)	BNC (5,917,821 words)
Group1 [ <i>every</i> NP transitive V <i>a</i> NP]	10	28
Group2 [ <i>every</i> NP intransitive V <i>a</i> NP]	1	
Group3 [ <i>a</i> NP transitive V <i>every</i> NP]	0	0
Group4 [ <i>there</i> intransitive V <i>a</i> NP prep. <i>every</i> NP]	1	3

*Note:* Group 1 is a corresponding structure for right quantifier spreading with a transitive verb (e.g., *Every boy is holding a balloon*), group 2 for right quantifier spreading with an intransitive verb (e.g., *Every bird is in a cage*), group 3 for left quantifier spreading with a transitive verb (e.g., *A cat is chasing every mouse*), and group 4 for left quantifier spreading with an intransitive verb (e.g., *There is a trash bin next to every bench*).

There were a few instances of double quantifying sentences in both corpora. Most of them occurred in group 1 and group 2, namely when *every* was in the subject position whereas matches of *every* in object position, i.e., group 3, were not found.<sup>4</sup> Although the overall frequencies were small in number, the distributional pattern seems to be highly correlated to the error rates of the NS group in the first analysis of the PI task. Referring to Table 3, native speakers had less difficulty judging the sentences in the case of right quantifier spreading with a transitive verb or with an intransitive verb and left quantifier spreading with an intransitive verb, corresponding to group 1, group 2, and group 4. These groups showed some frequencies in the corpora. In contrast, most of their non-target responses emerged from left quantifier spreading sentences with a transitive verb, corresponding to group 3. Those had no instances in the corpora. Taken as a whole, the actual distribution of English UQ containing sentences in the corpora reflects the participants' experimental performance. Furthermore, it would seem that this corpus analysis lends us to the plausible correlation between input frequency and the performance on quantifying sentences by Korean L2 learners of English. Since they also had the highest error rate in left quantifier spreading sentences with a transitive verb, it might be said that this poor performance is somewhat attributable to the lack of L2 input.

The aforementioned discussion sections suggest an alternative explanation toward the semantic acquisition of the UQ; that is, instead of approaching participants' responses linguistically, it is more reasonable to examine pragmatic or psychological aspects involved in interpreting universally quantified sentences.

## 5.0. CONCLUSION

Originally, this study started because of my skeptical view of DelliCarpini's (2003) pilot study that concluded that the acquisition of L2 quantification is governed by UG with developmental stages that parallel L1 acquisition. In exploring the research questions of the present study, I was not able to find any related evidence to support the UQ interpretation within linguistic competence. Rather, this study raises doubt about the validity of this idiosyncratic material and task. It is questionable whether or not participants' performance on this task can represent their competence or knowledge of the UQ *every*. In order to resolve the questions that remain on the current topic, more compelling and varied approaches should be undertaken for future study. Possibly, they might include psychological aspects or pragmatic concerns related to real-world knowledge influences, so that even the variations of responses among native speakers can be overridden. Overall, the current study suggests a new approach to the semantic acquisition of the UQ *every* by L2 learners of English for studies to replicate.

## NOTES

1. Unlike the test sentences in DelliCarpini's pilot study, which were interrogative, the sentences for the present study were declarative.
2. There was a different type of response in both of the L2 groups, which was not found in the previous studies. For the test sentence *A boy is wiping every table* with a picture of three boys wiping one table each and one table not being wiped, some Korean participants chose answer item (a) 'perfectly appropriate' as their response, which is inconsistent with that of NS participants. These non-target responses occurred three times out of 240 total responses in each L2 group. This type of response was not categorized in the present study; however, it was calculated in the total non-target responses.
3. Responses made by choosing both answer items were not counted. 23.3% of NS group's responses showed both answer items made sense, while Korean L2 groups accessed 9.5%.
4. One instance ("*Ought not \*an edifying trial have made every effort...*") belonging to group 3 was found in Brown corpus; however, the expression of *every* there was rather idiomatic, and it was not counted.

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# SEMANTIC VARIANCE IN CHINESE AND THAI FOR L2 LEARNERS

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## ABSTRACT

Whereas the Grammar Translation approach emphasizes syntactic features in second language instruction, Hsieh's (2004) Global Grammar theory considers syntactic properties within the broader context of the characterization of semantic elements. This paper posits that Global Grammar analysis can aid in the understanding of locative and directional phrases in Chinese and Thai for second language (L2) learners and facilitate the discussion of cross-linguistic differences. I argue that this framework can allow for a global perspective of regionally related languages, which assists L2 learners to understand the cognitive processes of compression and decomposition and the importance of foreground and background features in a given L2.

## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

According to Brown (2004), one of the most traditional approaches for foreign language pedagogy is the Grammar Translation method. Within this theoretical framework, the primary language of instruction is the first language (L1). Syntactic properties or formal aspects of the second language (L2) are explained elaborately in L1, and vocabulary lists accompanied with L1 translation equivalents must be memorized. However, as Yule (2002) points out, this method does not encourage the actual use of L2, because it emphasizes written over spoken language. Omaggio (1993) also criticizes this approach for its creation of expectations for 'right' answers and 'correct' grammar with little regard for speech production.

To illustrate, let us look at how a foreign language teacher uses this method to teach either Thai or Chinese to a class of learners whose L1 is American English. The teacher may ask the L2 students to translate L1 sentences such as (1a) into the target language, as is shown below in (1b-e).

- (1)      a. Mary *takes* a plane *to* Peking. (English)
- b. Maeri   *nang*   *khruangbin*   *pai*   Pakking<sup>1</sup> (Thai)  
              Mary   sit     airplane     go   Peking  
              'Mary takes a plane to Peking.'
- c. Maeri   *khuen*   *khruangbin*   *pai*   Pakking (Thai)  
              Mary   get    on airplane   go   Peking  
              'Mary takes a plane to Peking.'
- d. Mali   *zuo*   *feiji*   *qu*   Beijing.<sup>2</sup> (Chinese)  
              Mary   sit     airplane   go   Peking  
              'Mary takes a plane to Peking.'
- e. Mali   *zuo*   *feiji*   *dao*   Beijing   *qu*. (Chinese)  
              Mary   sit     airplane   to   Peking   go  
              'Mary takes a plane to Peking.'

The Grammar Translation method emphasizes syntactic accuracy, or the form, instead of the semantics of a language. Thus, the L2 learner memorizes translation-equivalent sentences without conceptualizing why Thai and Chinese use the action verbs *nang/zuo* ('sit') to describe the action expressed by the English verb 'taking'. Moreover, this approach gives little insight for how the action verbs *nang* and *khuen* in Thai differ.

This paper will discuss how Global Grammar theory as set forth by Hsieh (2004) can help students better understand locative and directional phrases in L2 Chinese and Thai. First, I shall give a brief description of the principles of Global Grammar theory. Second, I apply this theory to cognitive compression and decomposition of temporal sequences within event structure. Third, I present an analysis of the Thai and Mandarin directional complements *ma/lai* 'come' and *pai/qu* ('go.')

## 2.0. PRINCIPLES OF GLOBAL GRAMMAR THEORY

Hsieh (1996, 2004) formulates Global Grammar as an extension of Compositional Cognitive Grammar (CCG) that balances competing views of linguistic universalism and relativism. Hayden (1997) argues that CCG offers a means by which to systematically compare and contrast various semantic and syntactic constraints across languages. For example, where languages share universal constraints at the compositional level, they may nonetheless employ dissimilar means for the expression of events. This is because similar images of events may be perceived differently by the speakers of different languages. Since this paper focuses on the Global Grammar approach, and not CCG, I will not discuss it in further detail here.

Global Grammar aims to represent a unified grammar of semantic elements found in human languages. Thus, it provides a universal perspective for the description of cross-linguistic semantic divergence. To do this, Global Grammar allows for a maximal set of expressions as gathered from various languages. Cross-linguistic similarities are emphasized over differences. Because this perspective aids in the comparison of cross-linguistic variance, it may also assist language learners to comprehend and produce expressions in a new language.

To understand the key principles of Global Grammar, let us see Figure 1 below:













	Nationality	Shoe	Top	Pants	Dress	Boxing glove	Hair-band
Thai		$\emptyset$			$\emptyset$		$\emptyset$
Chinese					$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$
American			$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$		$\emptyset$	

Figure 1: Illustrating Global Grammar through Comparison of Stereotypical Clothing <sup>3</sup>

This figure illustrates how three girls of various nationalities display variant preferences in their choice of dress. In Global Grammar's terms, they are dissimilar in selecting which features of clothing to foreground and background. A foreground feature is prominent and cannot be omitted, while a background feature is insignificant and can be ignored. As such, the background feature here is signified as an empty set,  $\emptyset$ . In the 'Top' column, for example, there are three different tokens grouped into the class of 'Top.' Therefore, this figure shows the following configuration:

Maximum pieces of dressing = {boxing gloves, tops, pants, shoes, dress, hair-band}

Regional dressing = {Thai dress} / {Chinese dress} / {American dress}

Global dressing = {Thai dress} + {Chinese dress} + {American dress}

The above categories can be compared to the three key principles of Global Grammar:

Maximum pieces of dressing = Global features

Regional dressing = Regional expressions

Global dressing = Global expressions

Now, let us consider the following set of translation-equivalent sentences:

- (2)
- a. John *walked out of* the room. (English)
  - b. Chon *doen ok ma chak nai* hong (Thai)  
John walk out come from in room  
'John walked out of the room.'
  - c. Chon *doen ok chak* hong (Thai)  
John walk out from room  
'John walked out of the room.'
  - d. Yuehan *cong fangjian li zou chu lai* le. (Chinese)  
John from room in walk out come Perf.  
'John walked out of the room.'
  - e. Yuehan *cong fangjian li zou chu qu* le. (Chinese)  
John from room in walk out go Perf.  
'John walked out of the room.'

As the group of sentences in (2) shows, although English, Thai and Chinese can all successfully convey the same idea of John having walked out of the room, they foreground different aspects of this event. The full event can be understood easily by resorting to a full image of decomposed actions, as following: John was in the room, departed from the room, and walked out of the room. From the three regional languages we can identify seven possible global features {IN, FROM, WALK, OUT, COME, GO, OF}.<sup>4</sup> English selects only three features {WALK, OUT, OF} from these seven global features in order to form its regional expression. Thai, however, can express this event in two ways. One is comparatively decomposed {WALK, OUT, COME, FROM, IN}, and the other is more compressed {WALK, OUT, FROM}. Likewise, Chinese also expresses this event in two ways. Each uses five features {FROM, IN, WALK, OUT, COME/GO} to form its regional expression. The sum of the three regional expressions of English, Thai and Chinese form the global expression ({WALK, OUT, OF} + {WALK, OUT, COME, FROM, IN} + {FROM, IN, WALK, OUT, COME}). Certain features are expressed in the foreground of only certain languages.

### 3.0. COMPRESSION AND DECOMPOSITION OF TEMPORAL SEMANTICS

Languages may differ in terms of their focus on specific temporal elements of event structure. For example, speakers of certain languages may choose to express merely the initial or starting point of an event, while others may focus on the ending point or medial point. Let us consider Example (1) again. As Tai (1985) points out, movement toward a location must temporally precede arrival at that location. Thus, in a statement denoting a complex event 'Mary takes a plane to Peking,' the element 'to Peking' must necessarily follow the statement 'take a plane.' We can delve deeper into this unpacking of meaning by employing the theoretical frameworks of compression and decomposition. Compression refers to the reduction of redundancy without the loss of essential information. Decomposition, on the other hand, is a process of breaking down events into smaller component units. For example, we can sub-divide or decompose the event denoted by 'taking a plane to Peking' into several sub-events: Mary gets on the airplane, she sits on the airplane, and finally the airplane reaches its destination (Peking). English focuses on the initial point of this complete action, but Thai and Chinese merely describe the medial event by using the action verbs *nang* and *zuo* ('sit.') Nonetheless, Thai also permits description of this event in the same way as in English, with focus on the initial point, by use of *khuen* 'get on.'

Chang (1998) notes that a verb like *fetch* in English can signify the compression of a long series of events that are expressed in Chinese through decomposition, as in *qu-na-(guo)-lai* 'to go and bring it (all the way) back,' lit. 'go-take-(cross)-come.' Wang (1998) also points out that a short sequence of English words can be expressed by a long sequence of Chinese words, as in (3). He observes that this contrast between English and Chinese is driven by the selection of features for placement in the foreground and background.

- (3) a. The painting *fell off* the wall. (English)  
 b. Hua *cong qiang shang diao xia lai*. (Chinese)  
 painting from wall on fall descend come  
 'The painting fell off the wall.'

A better understanding of the process of decomposition may assist language learners in constructing L2 expressions. For example, they may become aware of the bias imposed by their native language on the selection of features to be foregrounded or backgrounded. Moreover, they can build a solid basis of reasoning to determine which information must be mentioned in the L2 and which may be omitted. Consider the following set of sentences:

- (4) a. Peter *jumped out of* bed. (English)  
 b. Peter *kradod long ma chak* tiang (Thai)  
 Peter jump down come from bed  
 'Peter jumped out of bed.'  
 c. Bide *tiao xia chuang lai*. (Chinese)  
 Peter jump down bed come  
 'Peter jumped out of bed.'  
 d. Bide *cong chuang shang tiao xia lai* le. (Chinese)  
 Peter from bed on jump down come Perf.  
 'Peter jumped out of bed.'

These four sentences represent the English, Thai, and Chinese expressions that describe the event 'Peter jumped out of bed.' In English, only three semantic elements are foregrounded: *jumped*, *out* and *of*. In Thai, this event is expressed in four words: *kradod* ('jump,') *long* ('down,') *ma* ('come') and *chak* ('from,') In contrast, Chinese employs three words: *tiao* ('jump,') *xia* ('down,') and *lai* ('come,') Hsieh (2006) contrasts the difference between (4c) and (4d) by noting that, although *tiao* 'jump' is a prominent verb in Chinese, *cong* ('from') is less prominent and is used only as a preposition. Hsieh finds evidence to support his view in the etymological development of the preposition *cong* ('from,') citing the theory of preposition development proposed by Li (1980). In Li's theory, the preposition *cong* 'from' is derived from the verb *cong* meaning 'to follow'. According to Hsieh (2006), *cong* ('from') is less prominent and can therefore be omitted, allowing the expression of fewer event sub-elements in (4c). The full cognitive decomposition of the event described in (4) is set forth in Figure 2 and Table 1 below:

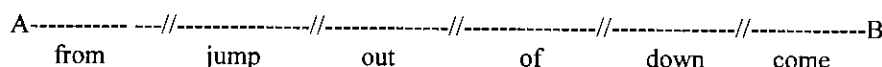


Figure 2: Fully Decomposed Semantic Elements of the Event Described in Sentences (4a - 4d)

Semantic Elements	English Ex. (4a)	Thai Ex. (4b)	Chinese Ex. (4c)	Chinese Ex. (4d)
'from'	Ø	chak	Ø	cong
'jump'	jump	kradod	tiao	tiao
'out'	out	Ø	Ø	Ø
'of'	of	Ø	Ø	Ø
'down'	Ø	long	xia	xia
'come'	Ø	ma	lai	lai

We can notice that five elements comprising the event ‘Peter jumped out of the bed.’ are expressed differently in each language according to the language-specific selection of different semantic features for foregrounding. English speakers express only three features, whereas Thai and Chinese foreground more features. Let us consider another set of examples:

- (5) a. The train *came through* the tunnel. (English)
- b. Rodfai *lod phan ok ma chak nai* umong (Thai)  
Train through pass out come from in tunnel  
‘The train *came through* the tunnel.’
- c. Rodfai *lod ok ma chak nai* umong (Thai)  
Train through out come from in tunnel  
‘The train *came through* the tunnel.’
- d. Rodfai *lod ok ma chak* umong (Thai)  
Train through out come from tunnel  
‘The train *came through* the tunnel.’
- e. Rodfai *ok ma chak nai* umong (Thai)  
Train out come from in tunnel  
‘The train *came through* the tunnel.’
- f. Rodfai *ok ma chak* umong (Thai)  
Train out come from tunnel  
‘The train *came through* the tunnel.’
- g. Huoche *cong suidao li chuan guo lai* (Chinese)  
Train from tunnel in pass through come  
‘The train *came through* the tunnel.’

A-----//-----//-----//-----//-----//-----B  
from in pass through out come

Figure 3: Fully Decomposed Semantic Elements of the Event Described in Sentences (5a – 5g)

Table 2: Comparison on Foregrounded Features among English, Thai and Chinese

Semantic Element	English Ex. (5a)	Thai Ex. (5b)	Thai Ex. (5c)	Thai Ex. (5d)	Thai Ex. (5e)	Thai Ex. (5f)	Chinese Ex. (5g)
‘from’	∅	chak	chak	chak	chak	chak	cong
‘in’	∅	nai	nai	∅	nai	∅	li
‘pass’	∅	phan	∅	∅	∅	∅	chuan
‘through’	through	lod	lod	lod	∅	∅	guo
‘out’	∅	ok	ok	ok	ok	ok	∅
‘come’	come	ma	ma	ma	ma	ma	lai

In this example, the global feature set includes six elements for a fully decomposed specification of the event. As with the previous example, we can see a systematic variance in the foregrounding of features cross-linguistically. In English, the semantic elements ‘come’ and ‘through’ are foregrounded, but Thai and Chinese require the foregrounding of not only these two elements but also of ‘pass.’ This foregrounding seems to be redundant since ‘pass’ and ‘through’ are quite similar elements. Moreover, Thai can also express this event in various ways through the use of compression, reducing the number of overtly expressed elements from six to three. The fully decomposed specification of this event is shown in Figure 3 and Table 2 above.

Consider one more example:

- (6) a. John *hurried back to* the hospital *from* his office. (English)
- b. Chon *rip kap chak* thithamngan *ma* thi rongpayaban (Thai)  
 John hurry back from office come at hospital  
 'John *hurried back to* the hospital *from* his office.'
- c. Yuehan *cong bangongshi gan hui lai dao* yiyuan. (Chinese)  
 John from office hurry back come to hospital  
 'John *hurried back to* the hospital *from* his office.'
- d. Yuehan *cong bangongshi gan hui dao* yiyuan. (Chinese)  
 John from office hurry back to hospital  
 'John *hurried back to* the hospital *from* his office.'

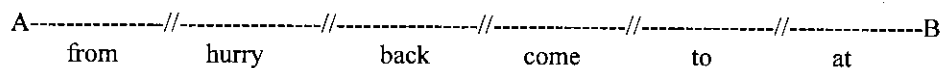


Figure 4: Fully Decomposed Semantic Elements of the Event Described in Sentences (6a – 6d)

Table 3: Comparison of Foregrounded Features in English, Thai and Chinese

Semantic Element	English Ex (6a)	Thai Ex. (6b)	Chinese Ex. (6c)	Chinese Ex. (6d)
'from'	from	chak	cong	cong
'hurry'	hurry	rip	gan	gan
'back'	back	kap	hui	hui
'come'	Ø	ma	lai	Ø
'to'	to	Ø	dao	dao
'at'	Ø	thi	Ø	Ø

We can deduce six global semantic elements {'FROM,' 'HURRY,' 'BACK,' 'COME,' 'TO' and 'AT'} in the linguistic expressions used in the three languages for Example (6). However, each individual language selects different features. English and Chinese are similar in that they choose the initial point and the projected goal (*from ... to*). Thai also overtly marks the starting point of the action, but it only employs 'at,' which indicates that the action takes place in a specific location.

If we scrutinize the word order of these three regional languages in Example (6), we can find that the position of the directional locative *from*, which expresses the starting point, precedes the reached goal (*to*) in Chinese and Thai, but this phenomenon is considered to be ungrammatical in the English sentence. Tai (1985) explained that the action that occurs first will be placed in the front. One of the examples he raised is in terms of temporal sequence: moving toward a location precedes the stage of arriving at the location, while arriving at the place follows moving. Thus, in Chinese and Thai '*from*' is expressed before '*to*.'

From the above examples, we can see the decomposition process at the sentence level. In fact, decomposition can also be found at the lexical level. The data in the table below show that Thai and Chinese employ the locative particle *long/xia* 'down' in such a way. We can use the Global Grammar theory to explain this phenomenon in most cases. Thai and Chinese choose a more decomposing way in expressing the idea of moving actions from the upper level to the lower level by using either V+N, V+V or V+P+N. In English, the actions are compressed into some specific verbs, as illustrated in Table 4 below.

Table 4: The Semantic element 'Down' in Chinese and its Thai and English Equivalents

Semantic element	English	Thai	Chinese
'to fish'	to fish	<i>long bet</i> (V+N)	<i>chuidiao</i> (V+V)
'to debark'	to debark	<i>long chak ruea</i> <sup>5</sup> (V+ V+N)	<i>xia chuan</i> (V+N)
'to bury'	to bury	<i>long fang</i> (V+V)	<i>xia zang</i> (V+V)
'to dismount'	to dismount	<i>long chak ma</i> (V+V+N)	<i>xia ma</i> (V+N)
'to sign'	to sign	<i>long chue</i> (V+N)	<i>qiamming</i> (V+N)
'to register'	to register	<i>long thabian</i> (V+N)	<i>dengji</i> (V+V)

Take 'bury' in the table above for example, '*long fang*' in Thai and '*xia zang*' in Chinese are decomposed expressions which correspond to the compression 'bury' in English, as shown in Figure 5.

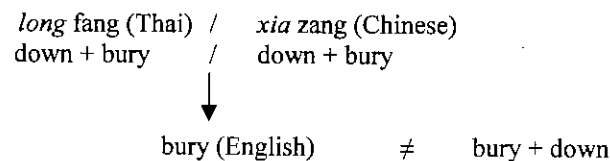


Figure 5: Action Verb 'bury' in Table (4) and Its Thai and Chinese Equivalents

One may wonder why the action verb 'down' is not foregrounded in English. In fact, the action verb 'down' is a hidden feature in the English action verb 'bury,' which expresses the moving from an upward position to a downward position. Consequently, English speakers only foreground the action verb 'bury.'

#### 4.0. ANALYSIS OF DIRECTIONAL COMPLEMENTS *COME* AND *GO*

Chinese and Thai not only tend to express the event in a more decomposing manner but also employ the directional complements *ma/lai* 'come' and *pai/qu* 'go.' These two directional complements indicate both of the actions of 'coming' and 'going' and express the directions of motion towards and away from the speaker respectively. However, these directional complements are backgrounded in English. Consider the following set of examples:

- (7) a. Zhangsan entered (toward the speaker). (English)
- b. Changsan *doen khao ma laew* (Thai)  
 Zhangsan walk in come Perf.  
 'Zhangsan entered (toward the speaker)'
- c. Zhangsan *zou jin lai le*. (Chinese)  
 Zhangsan walk enter come Perf.  
 'Zhangsan entered (toward the speaker)'
- Li and Thompson (1981)

We can see from (7b) and (7c) that in Thai and Chinese the presence of *ma/lai* 'come toward the speaker' is important, since it allows us to know that the speaker was inside of the sight of Zhangsan, who was entering. Similarly, the presence of *pai/qu* 'go away from the speaker' in (8b) and (8c) entails that the speaker was outside of the sight Lisi was entering. So, both *ma/lai* 'come toward the speaker' and *pai/qu* 'go away from the speaker' should be foregrounded in Thai and Chinese.

- (8) a. Lisi entered (away from the speaker). (English)
- b. Lisi *doen khao pai* laew (Thai)  
 Lisi walk in go Perf.  
 'Lisi entered (away from the speaker)'
- c. Lisi *zou jin qu* le. (Chinese)  
 Lisi walk enter go Perf.  
 'Lisi entered (away from the speaker)'

## 5.0. CONCLUSION

The Global Grammar theory shows promising applicability to L2 teaching. Its explicit instruction can help L2 learners develop an awareness of the principles governing the operations and interactions of semantic and syntactic features. By making use of the global features from regional expressions, we can acquire a set of translation-equivalent sentences that share the basic semantic features. Also, the full image structure provided by a comparison of regional languages will be useful for L2 learners in understanding temporal sequences and the foregrounding and backgrounding of global features in a particular regional language. Consequently, L2 students can learn their target languages in a more analytical manner.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

N	Noun
P	Preposition
Perf.	Perfective
V	Verb

## NOTES

1. The Romanization system for Thai is defined by the Royal Thai Institute. For more detail on this system, visit [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thai\\_alphabet](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thai_alphabet).
2. Hanyu Pinyin Romanization is used for Mandarin Chinese in this paper.
3. The pictures of these three girls were taken from the following websites: [www.istockphoto.com/imageindex/173/0/173026/](http://www.istockphoto.com/imageindex/173/0/173026/), [www.chinese2learn.com/images/cartoon/girl\\_03.jpg](http://www.chinese2learn.com/images/cartoon/girl_03.jpg), and [www.dreamstime.com/cutecartoongirl-thumb166236](http://www.dreamstime.com/cutecartoongirl-thumb166236).
4. In this paper I use uppercase English words to denote semantic meaning or semantic elements of Chinese and Thai words. They are not translation equivalents of the Chinese and Thai words.
5. It is quite interesting that in Thai we can use the term *long ruea* 'down-boat' or *kruen ruea* 'up-boat' to express the meaning 'get onto the boat.' Patcharatee (1990) gave a clear explanation that *long* in *long ruea* expresses the motion towards the destination. In the past, Thai people used the term *long ruea* instead of *kruen ruea* to express the meaning of 'get onto the boat' because the position of a port in the old days was higher than the boat itself, and the people had to step down the stairway of the port before they got onto the boat. The opposite term of *long ruea* is *kruen chak ruea* 'get on-from-boat' 'get off the boat'. However, at present, when we go to see a big boat exhibition which demonstrates a boat in a place higher than the ground, we can also use the term *kruen ruea* 'up-boat' instead of *long ruea* 'down-boat' to express the meaning of 'getting on the boat'. The term *long chak ruea* 'down-from-boat' 'get off the boat' applies to the opposite situation.

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# AN ALGORITHMIC METHOD FOR REMEMBERING EXCEPTIONS TO SUBJUNCTIVE USE IN FRENCH

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## ABSTRACT

The aim of this squib is to offer the intermediate student of French a simple three-step algorithm-like method for determining which mood to use after expressions that normally require the subjunctive. A mood other than the subjunctive is sometimes required in the subordinate clause despite the presence of the default subjunctive triggers. For instance, the indicative is used after main clause expressions that imply some degree of “certainty to happen”. The infinitive is used when the subject is the same in both clauses. Students could find benefits in using a systematic method for remembering these exceptions, a method whose driving principle is to minimize the need for memorization.

## 1.0. PRESENTATION OF THE METHOD IN TEXTBOOKS

The subjunctive is one of the most complex structures for a student of the French language to learn. The categories of expressions in a main clause that may trigger the use of the subjunctive in the subordinate clause (let’s call it the main rule ‘M’) are well-documented by textbook manuals. They include expressions of:

- doubt
- obligation/necessity
- opinion/judgment
- preference
- will/wishes
- thought
- emotion

Those categories are not strictly hermetic: e.g. *il est nécessaire* ‘it is necessary’ could belong to either will or opinion.

Moreover, with some of those expressions, a mood different from the subjunctive is sometimes required, such as:

- (a) The indicative for expressions that imply a degree of “certainty to happen.”
- (b) The infinitive, when the subject is the same in both clauses.

Each one of these rules (main rule ‘M’ and 2 exception rules (a) and (b)) is taking precedence over the prior one: rule (a) over rule M; rule (b) over both rule (a) and rule M.

## 2.0. THE ALGORITHMIC METHOD

Those three rules can thus be presented in an order such that the student is able to follow the algorithmic path represented in Figure 1, in order to know which mood will have to be used:

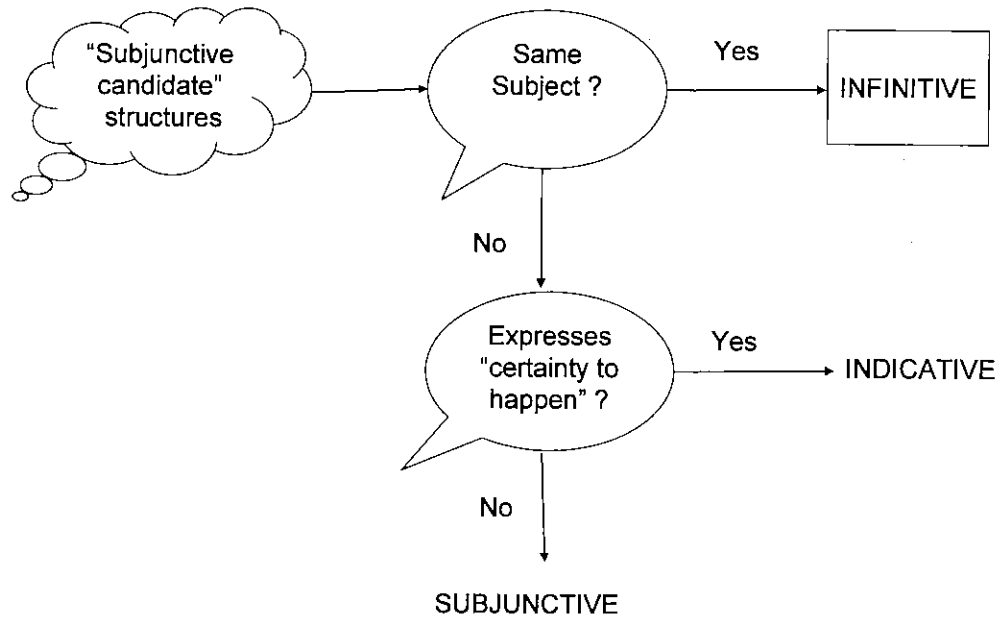


Figure 1: Algorithm for resolving exceptions to the subjunctive.

The first question to be asked would be “Is the subject the same in both clauses?” If affirmative, exception rule (b) dictates the use of the infinitive.

If negative (two different subjects), the next question to be asked is “Does the sentence convey the idea of some ‘certainty to happen’?” If affirmative, exception rule (a) dictates the use of the indicative. If negative, then the main rule M prevails with the use of the subjunctive.

The challenge now becomes figuring out which expressions are going to fall into the category described by exception rule (a), thus triggering the indicative.

To this end, we can present Figure 2 to students:

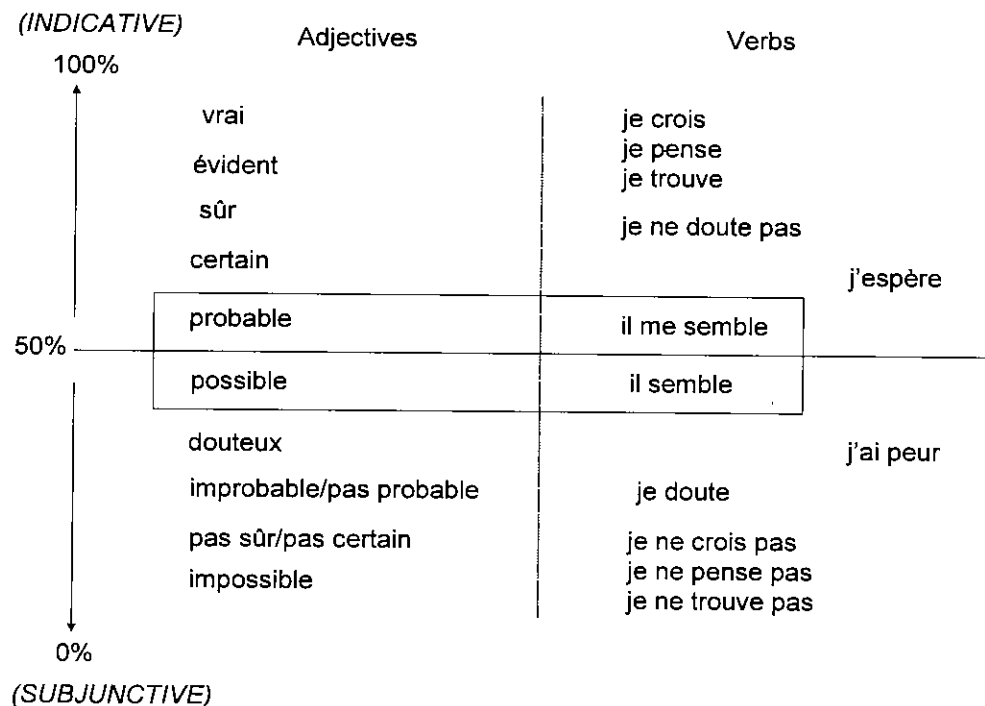


Figure 2: Mnemonic template for expressions conveying "certainty to happen."

Expressions above the median 50% estimated probability line will require the use of the indicative; expressions below it will need the subjunctive. The principle is to minimize the need for memorization by highlighting the four expressions that are contained within the rectangle and "guessing" the rest of the expressions in relationship to these four expressions.

So for example, *il est douteux* 'it is doubtful' carries less certainty that it will happen than *il est possible* 'it is possible', thus it requires the subjunctive.

On the other hand, *je pense* 'I think' conveys more certainty than *il me semble* 'it seems to me', and so the indicative is needed here.

### 3.0. CONCLUSION

The method presented here is no by no means an alternative to textbooks presentations of the subjunctive, but rather would find an ideal use as an addition to existing methods. Indeed, the model is not exhaustive and describes a rather 'unnatural', robotic way of learning the language. Nevertheless, it can be useful for certain types of students.

# A SYSTEMATIC RESEARCH SYNTHESIS OF L2 WM MEASUREMENTS

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## ABSTRACT

The study employed a synthetic approach to investigate what the relationships are between the second language (L2) working memory capacity (WM) and L2 learning. Particularly, it examines WM measurements in relation to L2 learning by reviewing empirical studies published between 1974 and 2006. The preliminary findings from this current research synthesis of previous L2 WM studies will contribute to a better understanding of how this cognitive mechanism has been measured and analyzed in the field of Second Language Acquisition.

## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

Working memory (WM) is a psychological construct of a mechanism of retrieval and maintenance of information during cognitive processing (Baddeley, 1986, 1990; Baddeley & Hitch, 1974; Daneman & Carpenter, 1980; Miyake & Shah, 1999). Various WM measurements have been created to measure how humans maintain information for a short period of time and efficiently process information. Through analyzing the relationships of individuals' performance on various WM measurements, many researchers whose participants are native speakers have claimed that individual differences in WM capacity play an important role in various cognitive tasks, such as listening and reading (Adams & Garthercole, 2000; Daneman & Carpenter, 1980; Just & Carpenter, 1992; Kintsch & van Dijk, 1978).

There are several competing models of WM in the first language (L1) psychology literature. There is also considerable debate as to what kinds of measurement can best tap WM in the L1. Up to now, the only study that investigated the relationships among various L1 WM measurements, by means of a meta-analytic approach, was carried out by Daneman and Merikle (1996). They meta-analyzed 77 studies on individual differences in WM and confirmed that the storage plus processing tasks predict participants' performance in reading comprehension better than traditional storage-only tasks. However, there is no study in the field of Second Language Acquisition<sup>1</sup> (SLA) that examined the relationships among WM measurements performed in a second language (L2). If performance on the WM tasks depends on learners' experience, as MacDonald and Christiansen (2002) claim, the relationships between WM capacity measurements and the criterion measurements (often reading or listening comprehension tests) in L1 may be different in L2. Based on these assumptions, the primary research question for this study is: What are the L2 WM measures actually measuring? Before such a question can be addressed, it is useful to review theoretical discussions and methodological debates that have played out in the L1 psychological literature, since they have strongly influenced the discussions about WM taking place in the field of SLA.

## 2.0. MODELS OF L1 WM

WM resources are limited, and this limitation affects the performance on tasks that require those resources. Miller (1956) is a pioneer in claiming that the capacity of the short-term memory (STM)<sup>2</sup> has to be expressed in terms of coherent units or 'chunks' of information, instead of some formal measure of amount of information. Baddeley, Thomson, and Buchanan (1975) suggested that WM is limited by time rather than limited by the number of chunks, reconceptualizing Miller's claim of  $7 \pm 2$ .

Two major models of WM explaining the constraints of human performance in language tasks, which emerged in the 1970s and 1980s, have been influential in stimulating psychological research in how humans process, retain, and retrieve information. One is Baddeley and his colleagues' (Baddeley, 1978, 1986, 1990; Baddeley & Hitch, 1974; Gathercole & Baddeley, 1993) multi-component WM. The multi-component WM model evolved from the notion that STM is not only a temporary storage but also a work space that carries out various cognitive operations. This notion of WM derived from patients who have an impaired STM yet can still operate general information processing tasks (Shallice & Warrington, 1970). The multi-component model claimed that the WM is composed of three slave systems, the visuo-spatial sketch pad (VSSP, a visual trace and manipulation system), the phonological loop (PL, phonological coding and storage), and the episodic buffer

(coordinated information from VSSP and PL), which are controlled by the central executive (CE). The functions of the CE are to process new information in the VSSP and PL, to act as an attention controller, selecting certain streams of incoming information and rejecting others, and to coordinate relevant incoming information with the long-term memory (LTM) (Baddeley, 2003). Material in the PL lasts about two seconds unless it is maintained through the use of the articulatory subvocal rehearsal, which is covert rehearsal of the auditory information (Baddeley, Thompson, & Buchanan, 1975). Thus, this model claims that the capacity of phonological information is constrained by time.

The other is Cowan's (1988) Embedded-Processes Model (a unitary model), which involves the activation of knowledge in the LTM, the focus of attention, and awareness. In his model, the LTM is activated in two ways: (a) by voluntary processing controlled by the CE; and/or (b) by habituated/automatic processing. Cowan does not believe in separate functions of WM, unlike Baddeley. Instead, his unitary WM model is based on the interaction of LTM and STM. While Baddeley (1986) distinguished how the different modes of information can be rehearsed and manipulated in the WM, Cowan emphasized not only how the CE controls the attention, but also how the activated fuzzy area of the STM and LTM can work together to create an effective WM. Cowan's interpretation for the limited capacity is due to attentional constraints, while Baddeley and his colleagues argue that there are domain (mode) specific limitations. Just and Carpenter (1992) are some of the researchers who are in favor of Cowan's position, since they claim that WM processing and storage functions are mediated by activation of the LTM.

### 3.0. WM MEASUREMENTS AND THE DEBATE

The tasks used for measuring verbal WM in the literature can be divided into two types: (a) recall tasks for measuring the storage component of the WM (storage-only measurement); and (b) storage plus processing tasks that tap both storage function and computational function of the WM (storage-plus processing measurement). Researchers who believe in the involvement of phonological STM in verbal activities often use a digit, letter, or word span task to measure its limit. The phonological STM capacity is determined by the length of the maximum string of items (digits, letters, or words) one can successfully recall. Some researchers use a non-word as a recall item so that lexical knowledge will not interfere or facilitate recall (Gathercole & Baddeley, 1993). However, Daneman and Carpenter (1980) argue that these storage-only measurements do not depict the function of WM as a computational space where information processing and maintenance occur concurrently. These researchers developed a memory test that taps both processing and capacity of WM, called the Reading Span Test (RST). The RST requires participants to read aloud a set of sentences and recall the final word of each sentence within a set. As one successfully recalls the final words, the number of words in each sentence in the next set will increase.

Recently, Caplan and Waters (1999) argued that the storage plus processing measure introduces a dual-task factor that affect the capacity for divided attention, and it does not predict the efficiency of language processing. Waters and Caplan (2003) found moderate statistically significant correlations among alphabet span<sup>3</sup>, backward digit span<sup>4</sup>, subtract 2 span<sup>5</sup>, running item span<sup>6</sup>, simple sentence span<sup>7</sup>, and complex sentence span<sup>8</sup>. A confirmatory factor analysis was conducted on the above five WM spans (two of the sentence span tests were averaged) and revealed that all five measures loaded on one factor accounting for about 66% of the variance. Thus, the storage plus processing measures seemed to measure the same construct as recalling simple and complex sentences. MacDonald and Christiansen (2002), grounded in a connectionist approach, claim that the distinction between language processing tasks and WM tasks are irrelevant; they are simply testing the same language processing skills with different demands; and learners' performance on those tasks depends on language experience. In a recent study, Friedman and Miyake (2004) tested the validity of the RST and concluded that there is no sufficient explanation of the predictability of the RST, as proposed by Daneman and Carpenter (1980). Other storage plus processing measurements typically used in LI literature include the Listening Span Test (LST, Daneman & Carpenter, 1980) and the Speaking Span Test (SST, Daneman & Green, 1986). The LST is very similar to the RST, but the stimuli are presented aurally. One will listen to a series of sentences and has to recall either the first or the final word in order. Some variation of LST includes recall of an agent or the object of an action. The other type of WM measurement that taxes both storage and processing with respect to speech production is the SST (Daneman & Green, 1986). Participants read a set of words displayed at the rate of one per second on a computer screen. At the end of each set, they are asked to generate aloud a separate sentence using each word in order of the presentation. The number of words in a set increases as the participant proceed with the test.

These WM tests in the L1 processing paradigm are still under debate as to what the measurements are actually tapping and the predictive validity of those tasks. Although L1 studies have been debating the validity of the WM tasks, have L2 researchers been aware of what they are measuring when using WM tasks?

#### 4.0. SYNTHESIZING RESEARCH ON L2 WM STUDIES

Recently, individual differences in WM capacity have gained great attention in SLA, as Mackey, Adams, Stafford and Winke (2006) point out the value of investigating how the limitation of WM capacity can affect learners' language development. Ellis (2006) also assures that enough studies using L2 WM capacity measurements have been accumulated for meta-analysis to be conducted to seek the overall estimate of how WM capacity limits influence L2 language attainment. The current research synthesis of L2 WM studies was motivated by the debatable validity of WM capacity measurements, the recent increase of interest in the role of WM in SLA, and the haphazard use of WM measurements in L2 studies. Daneman & Carpenter's (1980) RST have been highly influential in L2 studies, and yet not many SLA researchers have stopped to question how the theoretical and measurement questions in the L1 WM literature may affect how we measure WM in L2. The following research questions (RQ) were posed to guide the current study.

- RQ1: What are the sub-areas SLA researchers have investigated in relation to WM?
- RQ2: What kinds of WM capacity measurements have been used in L2 research?
- RQ3: What scoring system have L2 researchers been adopting for WM capacity measurements?
- RQ4: What are the reliability estimates for L2 WM capacity measurements used in the studies?
- RQ5: What is the relationship between L1 WM capacity and L2 WM capacity?

Research questions one through four will reveal the current practices of the use of WM measurements in L2 studies by a systemic research synthesis, whereas question five will be answered by the meta-analytic method, aggregating the effect sizes (correlation coefficient). Answers to these questions will be informative for those who intend to engage in adapting WM capacity measurements to their own study.

#### 5.0. METHOD

While primary researchers have professional responsibility to cover what is known in the field, the traditional narrative literature review may have constraints (i.e. subjectivity, resources); thus, an exhaustive and systematic search of research studies on the topic may not be assured. On the other hand, research synthesists empirically approach identifying the entire population of the literature on the topic and set inclusion and exclusion criteria to sort the literature to be reviewed (Norris & Ortega, 2000, 2006). This study employed a synthetic approach to investigate the research practices using WM measurements in the field of SLA and the role of WM in L2 learning (see Norris & Ortega, 2006, for the methodological approach to meta-synthesis in the field of Applied Linguistics).

##### 5.1. The Literature Search

The conceptual framework of WM first emerged in the field of experimental psychology in 1974 with the work of Baddeley and Hitch and has been evolving since then. The field of SLA, interdisciplinary in nature, has borrowed concepts from such work and started to investigate how individual differences in WM capacity influence second or foreign language (FL) learning. Thus, empirical studies on L2 WM published between 1974 (when the keystone article was published) and February of 2006 were exhaustively searched. Several strategies were utilized for a thorough literature search. Empirical published studies and dissertations that use L2 WM measurements were first obtained through electronic databases. Through the search engine, Cambridge Science Abstracts, four databases including Educational Resources Information Center, Language and Literatures Behavior Abstracts, PsychInfo, and PsychArticles were accessed. The following words and word combinations were used as either descriptors or keywords in the abstracts: (a) working memory, (b) short-term memory, (c) second language acquisition, (b) second language learning, and (d) foreign language learning.

The initial electronic search identified 194 potentially relevant published studies. The number of hits and the range of years of the published studies and dissertations that contained the search terms ("WM or STM", and "SLA, L2 learning, or FL learning" as a descriptor<sup>9</sup> or as a keyword in the abstract) is depicted in Figure 1. As we can see from Figure 1, WM studies in the SLA framework have been published after 1977, assuring that

the publication year set (1974-2006) for inclusion was valid. The field of psychology expanded its notion since 1974 but it was not until late 1980s that the field of SLA paid attention to individual differences in WM as one of the key variables that determines the ultimate attainment of second or foreign languages. We can observe an increasing interest and the shift from the use of the key term STM to WM in 1990s in the domain of SLA. Although the area of cognitive psychology has shifted from the concept of STM to WM, there are still studies that use STM as a framework.

In order to assure accuracy for literature identification, a manual search was conducted for the major journals in the domain of Applied Linguistics (*Applied Linguistics*, *Applied Psycholinguistics*, *Language Learning*, *Modern Language Journal*, *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, and *Second Language Research*). This led to the identification of additional 7 potentially relevant studies. In addition, out of 194 articles obtained through the electronic search, the top journal that frequently published topics on language and WM (*Journal of Memory and Language*) was manually searched, yielding 8 new studies. As a third step towards achieving saturation in our searches, references of overview articles and book chapters on WM and cognitive aspects of language learning were consulted (Baddeley, 2003; Garthercole & Baddeley, 1993; Robinson, 2001, 2002b, 2005; Skehan, 1989). This strategy helped us uncover 18 new potentially relevant studies. Finally, we also conducted foot-note chasing for each article and book chapter we obtained to find any unidentified studies, which led us to an additional 25 potential studies. In the current study, fugitive literature (in-house journals, unpublished papers, unpublished/uncirculated proceedings, and dissertations) were excluded since it is impossible to identify and retrieve those studies with systematicity.

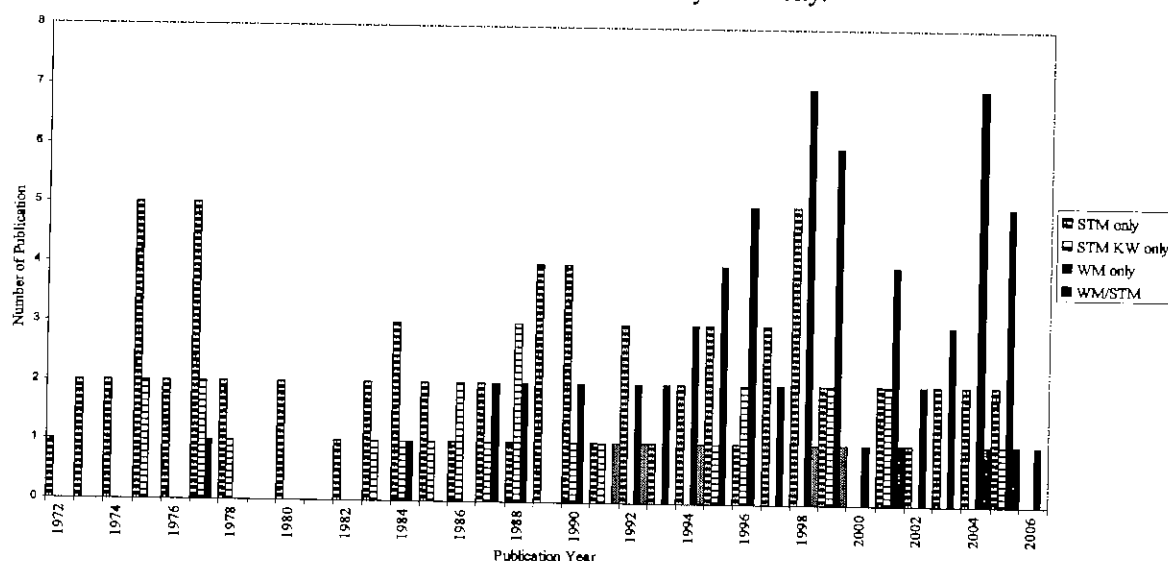


Figure 1. Distribution of published studies on WM and STM

## 5.2. Inclusion/Exclusion Criteria

In total, 252 potentially relevant studies were identified through an exhaustive literature search concerning the relationship between WM and second/foreign language acquisition/learning. The authors reviewed the abstracts to determine their relevance to the research topic and selected the primary studies for meta-analysis.

### 5.2.1. Inclusion criteria

The following inclusion criteria were set to guide our selection:

- The study was published or submitted as a dissertation between 1974 and February of 2006. The starting date of 1974 was chosen because the first conceptual framework of WM was addressed by Baddeley and Hitch in 1974.
- The paper was written in English. The researchers acknowledge that including only studies written in English may introduce certain biases (i.e., in research practices, trend in theoretical approach, target language in the study, etc). However, it is commonly acknowledged that many of the major internationally recognized journals only accept English as a written language to reach wider audiences.



- (c) The study was a quasi-experimental or experimental study that included at least one WM capacity measurement performed in participants' L1 or L2.
- (d) Participants in the study were adults aged between 18 and 60. It is well researched that memory capacity and efficiency of processing develops until young adolescence (Hartman & Warren, 2005; Schelstraete & Hupet, 2002), and recall ability declines steeply after 65 (Gregoire & Van der Linden, 1997). Thus, the age range was chosen to avoid (a) children and young adolescence who are still developing their memory capacity and cognitive/reasoning ability; and (b) elderly participants who may have difficulty retrieving and accessing information during the recall task. The effect of age in WM is out of the scope of this paper.
- (e) The study employed a criterion task to measure participants' ability in language learning/acquisition of linguistic features (e.g., grammatical judgment test, etc.) or understanding of the target language (e.g., reading comprehension test, story recall test, etc.), or WM tasks in both participants' first and second language to measure whether WM is language specific or not (e.g., Osaka & Osaka, 1992).

### 5.2.2. Exclusion criteria

Studies were excluded if one or more of the following criteria matched the description of the study.

- (a) The study is a theoretical or an overview paper.
- (b) The participants in the study had physical and/or psychological impairments.
- (c) The study only reported inferential statistics (e.g., ANOVA, MANOVA, ANCOVA) and did not have language or measurement type as an independent variable.
- (d) The study involved a treatment, such as articulatory suppression or dual tasks paradigm, and did not have a control group.
- (e) The study summarized unpublished and/or "in press" study but did not have sufficient information of the participants, tests used, and the variables measured.

Out of 252 potentially relevant published studies, 20 studies met the inclusion and exclusion criteria listed above and were included in the present research synthesis (see the Works Cited section where included literature is marked with an asterisk). Among these 20 studies, one study (Williams & Lovatt, 2005) contributed two unique study samples since it contained two experiments.

### 5.3. Coding Study Reports

The coding scheme was developed to clarify the variables that characterize each study. Table 1 summarizes the salient features of the studies we coded to observe the similarities and differences of WM research practices in the domain (research synthesis) and to identify quantitative data for meta-analysis.

The coding system was created based on the research questions and some variables previous meta-analysts often code (Jeon & Kaya, 2006; Keck, Iberri-Shea, Tracy-Ventura, & Wa-Mbaleka, 2006; Norris & Ortega, 2000; Thomas, 2006). Substantive features of the study Research Questions were extracted from each study to examine the area of language learning that was predicted by learners' WM capacity. In order to closely examine the research design employed, the following study features were coded: the setting of the study, participants' information (L1, age, proficiency level), target language, and sample size of the study. As for the proficiency level and how researchers state proficiency, we modified Thomas' (2006) proficiency reporting categories and classified according to the following codes: *experience*, *institutional status*, *impressionistic judgment*, *occupation*, and *standardized test*. The coding scheme was refined and set using six of the studies. Once the final coding scheme was set, three studies were coded for inter-coder reliability, calculated by a simple agreement ratio, resulting at 81.2%. The remainder of the 11 studies was subdivided into two; one researcher coding the constructs and participants' information, and another researcher coding the measurement features and research findings. Throughout the coding process, any disagreements were discussed and resolved.

Table 1. Study Coding Scheme

Substantive features	Methodological features
<u>Measurements</u>	<u>Publication type/year</u>
1. Measurement name	<u>Research questions</u> (Area of SLA)
2. Measurement type	<u>Constructs</u>
A. Predictor task (WM tests): (a) Storage only (digit, letter, word span) and (b) storage plus processing (RST, LST, SST, Elicited Imitation)	1. Construct of WM
B. Criterion task: (a) aptitude, IQ, vocabulary, grammar, reading, listening, and speaking	2. WM measurement construct
3. Measurement characteristics	<u>Research design</u>
(a) Mode of input (visual, auditory), (b) the delivery of the stimuli, total, (c) number of items, order of recall were restricted or not, (d) for RST/LST, comprehension was checked or not, and (e) scoring system (absolute, total, proportion)	1. Education setting (FL/SL)
<u>Quantitative data</u>	2. Participants' first language
(a) Reliability estimates of the measurements, (b) descriptive statistics, and (c) correlation coefficient and <i>p</i> -level	3. Participants' age
	4. Participants' proficiency level
	5. How proficiency is stated
	6. Target language
	7. Sample size

## 6.0. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### 6.1. The Research Synthesis

This section synthesizes the current state of methodological practices in the domain of L2 WM studies. The patterns that emerged though tallying all methodological and substantive features across studies are summarized.

#### 6.1.1. Research setting and participants' background

27 learner groups' profiles from 20 study reports are summarized in Table 2. The relationship between L2/FL and WM was investigated in several languages. Overall, FL context was predominant (77%) as a research setting compared to the second language context (23%). The table shows that the learners came from a variety of language backgrounds (34% English native speakers and 24% Japanese native speakers). As for the stimulus items, some researchers used a language that the participants do not know (e.g., Finnish, Russian, Italian, artificial language) to test an implicit rule learning paradigm, or to avoid semantic effects. Various ways of assessing learners' proficiency level were found in the participants section of each research report. Ten studies reported learners' proficiency by describing how many years they have studied English, their study abroad experience, and their self-assessment (all categorized as *Experience*). Eight out of 20 study reports stated learners' institutional status, such as which level of courses they are taking, their education status (graduate vs. undergraduate), or their majors. Three studies including five learner group samples (Harrington & Sawyer, 1992; Juffs, 2004; Mackey, Philp, Fujii, Egi, & Tatsumi, 2002) used standardized proficiency tests (TOEFL and Michigan Test of English Language Proficiency) and reported descriptive statistics, which provides a better estimation and a baseline for comparison across studies. Interestingly, two of the studies samples described the proficiency by participants' occupation (e.g., simultaneous interpreter, language teacher). From primary researchers' description on the background of participants, we categorized the learner groups into the following proficiency groups:

- (a) *Bilingual*: When authors describe their participants as polyglots (Daro & Fabbro, 1994), bilinguals (Ellis & Hennelly, 1980), or professional interpreters (Christoffels, de Groot, & Kroll, 2006), they were categorized as *bilingual*. However, one of the learner groups from Scott's (1994) study was called bilingual, but was categorized as a mixed group, since their proficiency level ranged from minimal to advanced.
- (a) *Advanced*: Authors either report their proficiency level as advanced or high fluency (Christoffels et al., 2006; Fortkamp, 1999; Osaka & Osaka, 1992).
- (b) *Intermediate*: Learners were described as intermediate when learners' standardized test scores were between the 40 to 70 percentile rank (Harrington & Sawyer, 1992; Juffs, 2004; Mackey et al., 2002), learners were enrolled in third or forth semester college level FL classes, or they had 6 years of language education since secondary school level (Miyake & Friedman, 1998).
- (c) *Absolute beginner*: The target language was unknown to the learners.
- (d) *Mixed level*: The author describes learners' proficiency as diverse.

33% of the learners were classified as intermediate, 30% as absolute beginners, 15% as advanced, and 11% as mixed or bilingual.

Table 2. Research Settings and Participants' Background

First language	<i>n</i> <sup>a</sup>	Target language	<i>n</i> <sup>b</sup>	Proficiency	<i>n</i>	Means of Assessment	<i>n</i>
English	10	English FL	9	Intermediate	9	Experience	10
Japanese	7	English SL <sup>a</sup>	6	Absolute beginner	8	Institution status	8
Dutch	3	Spanish FL	5	Advanced	4	Standardized test	5
Italian	3	Artificial	2	Mixed	3	Occupation	2
Spanish <sup>b</sup>	2	Russian FL	2	Bilinguals	3	Impressionistic judgment	1
Arabic <sup>b</sup>	1	Finnish FL	1				
Welsh <sup>a</sup>	1	German FL	1				
Portuguese	1	Italian FL	1				
Chinese	1	Samoan FL	1				
		Welsh <sup>a</sup>	1				

Notes: <sup>a</sup> The Welsh-English bilinguals from Ellis and Hennessey's (1980) study contributed to two (Welsh and English) categories. Since Call's (1985) participants were either Spanish or Arabic speakers, they were coded for both languages. This resulted in a total of 29 n-sizes. <sup>b</sup> Ellis and Hennessey's study was again, double counted as Welsh and English as target languages, since participants' dominant languages were mixed.

### 6.1.2. SLA areas (RQ1)

What are the sub-areas SLA researchers have investigated in relation to WM (RQ1)? The following areas were explored with respect to WM (also see Figure 2):

- grammar (Ellis & Schmidt, 1997; Juffs, 2004; Mackey et al., 2002; Miyake & Friedman, 1998; Robinson, 2002a; Williams & Lovatt, 2005);
- listening comprehension (Call, 1985; Scott, 1994);
- reading comprehension (Chun & Payne, 2004; Harrington & Sawyer, 1992);
- vocabulary (Atkins & Baddeley, 1998; Chun & Payne, 2004; Papagno & Vallar, 1995; Payne & Whitney, 2002; Williams & Lovatt, 2005);
- speaking (Fortkamp, 1999; Payne & Ross, 2005; Payne & Whitney, 2002);
- aptitude (Robinson, 2002a; Yoshimura, 2001);
- intelligence (Papagno & Vallar, 1995; Robinson, 2002a);
- noticing (Mackey et al., 2002; Robinson, 2002a);
- simultaneous interpretation and translation (Christoffels et al., 2006; Daro & Fabbro, 1994; Ellis & Hennessey, 1980).

As Schmidt (1990, 1995) claimed that noticing of the linguistic input during on-line processing is necessary for any language learning to take place, Robinson (2002a) and Mackey et al. (2002) demonstrated how noticing can mediate WM capacity and SLA. In order to further research the predictability of L2 attainment by WM capacity, more research is needed to investigate what other types of moderating variables there are.

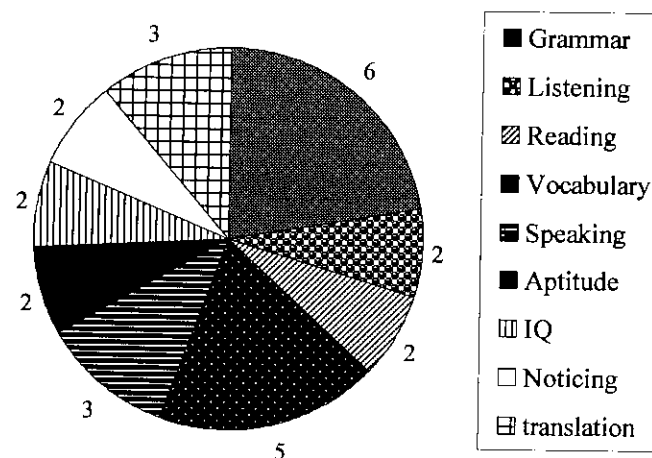


Figure 2. The sub-areas of SLA researchers investigated in relation to WM

### 6.1.3. Types of WM measurements (RQ 2)

Various measurements were used to indicate the capacity of WM, including digit span test, letter span test, word span test, reading span test, listening span test, speaking span test, and elicited imitation (immediate repetition of phrases and sentences). Many researchers administer multiple instruments to measure the storage function in WM as well as the trade off of storage and processing. The three popular measurements used among 20 research reports were digit span, word span and reading span test. For digit span test, there was a variation within the task. Scott (1994) used what he calls *Random Digits Forward* and *Random Digits Reversed* tests, which requires more cognitive load than the simple digit span test. The only visually presented digit span test was administered by Atkins and Baddeley (1998) to investigate the modality effect. As for the word span test, five out of 13 used non-word stimuli to avoid a word familiarity effect. In the reading span test, four reports included a sensibility test and three reports included a grammaticality judgment test right after the participants read aloud the sentence to assure that the participants were processing information.

The method of delivery of the stimuli in the WM tests varied. Many used more or less controlled delivery, such as using a computer or a tape to deliver the aural stimuli. However, some researchers presented the sentences for the reading span tests on an indexed card or read aloud the digits and letters to the participant one item per second. With controlled delivery of stimuli, researchers can obtain accurate results, whereas manually delivering the stimuli is a threat to the internal validity of the study.

### 6.1.4. The scoring system (RQ 3)

The most frequently used scoring system was total score (65%), while many of the storage only measurements used an absolute scoring system (32%) (see Table 3). In the absolute scoring system, the range of possible scores is small, because the score is determined by the length of the string of items being recalled. Often in an absolute scoring system, the researcher will stop the test and determine the score when the participant could not recall two out of three sets of items, whereas in a total scoring system, the researcher will deliver all stimuli regardless of participant's failure in recall. Total score may be favored by the researchers to have a greater distribution; however, the capacity can only be translated (e.g., high span, low span, etc.) within the study, since it is only relative to the total number of items used in the study. Although absolute span has a narrower distribution, this scoring system will allow the researchers to compare participants' capacity across studies.

Table 3. Measurement Characteristics

Tasks	Sample size		Language			Mode		Delivery <sup>c</sup>				Recall order			Scoring			
	Study	n	L1	L2	NW	A	V	Comp	Tape	Man	No	Yes	Any	No report	Abso-lute	Total	%	No report
Digit	8	14	6	7	1 <sup>a</sup>	13	1	0	7	3	4	11	0	3	7	4	0	3
Letter	1	4	0	4	0	2	2	2	0	2	0	4	0	0	4	0	0	0
Word	9	13	3	5	5	8 <sup>b</sup>	6 <sup>b</sup>	9	4	0	0	4	5	4	4	5	2	2
EI	3	7	1	3	3	4	3	3	1	0	3	0	0	7	0	6	0	1
RST	11	17	10	7	0	11	0	9	0	8	0	9	5	2	3	14	0	0
LST	3	5	2	3	0	5	0	0	3	0	3	0	0	5	0	2	0	3
SST	2	6	3	3	0	0	6	6	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	6	0	0

Notes: <sup>a</sup>One digit span test was presented in visual mode and was classified as NW. <sup>b</sup>Williams and Lovatt (2005) delivered the word span test visually and aurally at the same time, thus it was double counted. <sup>c</sup>Comp = computer, Man = manual, No = No report.

### 6.1.5. Reliability of the measurements (RQ 4)

The reliability of the WM measurements was reported by only five out of 20 research reports (see Table 4). The reliability ranged from 0.75 to 0.99 for the WM measurement reliability estimates and 0.99 for the inter-coder reliability of the accurately pronounced phonemes in Scott's (1994) Spanish memory task (similar to elicited imitation). No study that applied absolute scoring system for its WM measurements reported their reliability estimates. As we can see, the ranges of scores are wide for total scores and proportion scores, which allow the reliability estimates to be larger than the absolute scores.

Table 4. Reliability Report

Authors	Lang	Task type	Mode	Score	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range	Reliability	Statistics
Scott (1994)	Eng (L1)	Digit (f) <sup>a</sup>	A	Total	45.39	14.33	0-115	0.92	KR-21
Scott (1994)	Eng (L1)	Digit (r) <sup>b</sup>	A	Total	32.68	15.08	0-90	0.94	KR-22
Williams & Lovatt (2005)	Ital (L2)	Word	A	%	36.50	11.10	0-100	0.75	Split-half
Williams & Lovatt (2005)	Artificial	Word	A/V	%	64.50	17.80	0-100	0.94	Split-half
Yoshimura (2001)	Jap (L1)	RST	V	Total	42.10	8.62	0-60	0.79	KR-21
Yoshimura (2001)	Eng (L2)	RST	V	Total	40.80	9.98	0-60	0.84	KR-21
Robinson (2002a)	Jap (L1)	RST	V	Total	44.80	9.30	0-70	0.83	KR-21
Scott (1994)	Eng (L1)	EI	A	Total	111.37	16.74	0-147	0.92	KR-21
Scott (1994)	Span (L2)	EI	A	Total	194.00	27.06	0-473	0.99	Correlation

Notes: <sup>a</sup> Digit forward, <sup>b</sup> Digit reversed.

### 6.2. The Meta-analysis (RQ5)

Sixteen independent study reports contributed to the identification of 51 correlation coefficients between WM and criterion measurements and 58 correlation coefficients among WM measurements. In order to assess the magnitude of effect size, Cohen (1988) defines a small effect size to be  $r = 0.10$ , a medium effect size to be  $r = 0.30$ , and a large effect size to be  $r = 0.50$ . Figure 3 shows the distribution of 109 effect sizes plotted against the sample size. The raw mean score of the correlation coefficient was 0.44 ( $SD = 0.21$ , a moderate effect) for the relationship among WM measurements only and 0.18 ( $SD = 0.28$ , a small effect) for the relationship between WM and criterion measurements. The criterion and WM measures distributed widely and showed a relatively smaller magnitude of relationship compared to the relationships among WM measurements. The funnel pattern does not confirm any tendency for publication bias since the effect sizes ( $r$ ) were not overtly skewed. However, a pattern of difference between the types of relationship emerged. All correlation coefficients of the relationship between various WM measurements were over 0.00, which indicates that various WM measures, regardless of L1 and L2, are all related in lesser or greater degree.

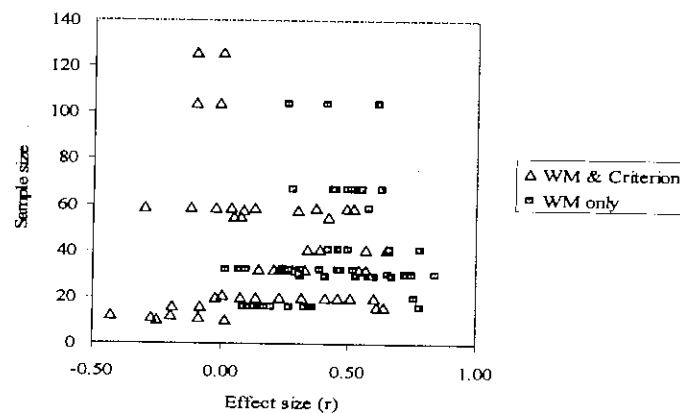


Figure 3: Funnel Plot for the Effect Sizes ( $r$ ) plotted against Sample Sizes

#### 6.2.1. The relationship between L1 WM and L2 WM

Some researchers have been investigating whether WM capacity is language dependent or language independent. Figure 4 depicts the 95% confidence interval around the mean (both non-weighted and weighted)

of the transformed  $r$  scores between L1 and L2 WM measurements. The 95% confidence interval estimates that there is a 95% chance that the confidence interval contains the population mean. This was calculated by transforming the raw  $r$  scores to a normally distributed variable  $z$  using Fisher's  $z$  transformation ( $z = 0.5 * [\ln(1+r) - \ln(1-r)]$ ), calculate the error, and transform back to  $r$  scores (transformed  $r$ ) (Lane, 2005). The weighted effect sizes provide more accurate statistical information by giving weight to independent samples with larger sample sizes; presumably the means for those studies are more robust. On the question of the relationships between the L1 and L2 WM measurements, the evidence strongly supports the view that the correlations are consistently positive, indicating that there is a relationship.

In terms of Cohen's (1988) classification, the effects are characterized as large for both storage-only and storage-plus processing measurements. The number of samples for the relationship between storage only measurements was too small ( $k = 9$ ) for any conclusion to be drawn for the difference in the strength of magnitude between storage-only and storage-plus processing measurements.

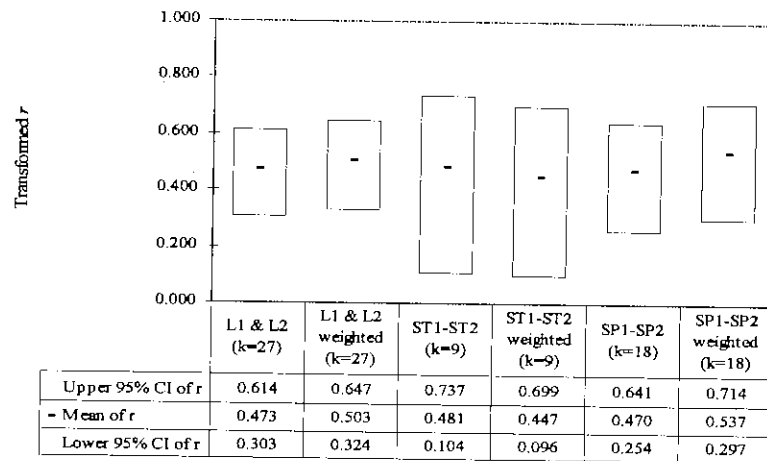


Figure 4: Average Relationship between L1 and L2 WM Measurements

Distributions of correlations were also examined to determine whether it is reasonable to conclude that there is a relationship greater than zero between L1 and L2 WM for the population included in the study. All transformed correlation coefficients were over 0.00 (see Figure 5). The relationships between L1 and L2 storage-only measures seem to cluster between 0.40 and 0.60, with the one exception of  $r = 0.26$  (Juffs, 2004).. On the other hand, the correlations between L1 and L2 storage plus processing measurements for 27 samples varied from  $r = 0.11$  (Fortkamp, 1999) to  $r = 0.84$  (Osaka & Osaka, 1992). The variation in the range of correlations did not support that the WM is language independent as claimed by Osaka and Osaka (1992). However, we cannot deny that language proficiency may influence the performance in the L2 measurement.

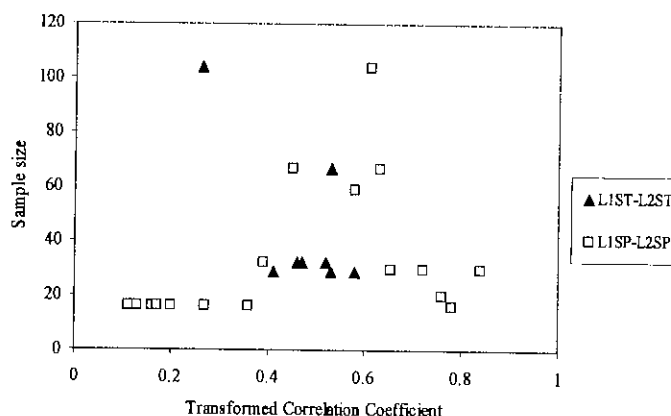


Figure 5: The distribution of Correlation Coefficient between L1 and L2 WM measurements

## 7.0. CONCLUSION

In the present paper, we have synthesized twenty studies concerning WM and SLA to see how researchers have been looking at WM and SLA relationships and what/how WM measurements are used to investigate that relationship. There were no studies investigating the relationship between WM and writing in L2. More studies on how WM may affect output performance can be a promising area for further research. Unfortunately, the scant reporting on the descriptive statistics and the reliability estimates of the WM measurements did not allow the researchers to estimate the range of possible WM scores and the reliability for each measurement. A large variability was observed for the relationship between L1 and L2 storage plus processing measurements. One assumption is that the storage plus processing involves sentence level stimuli, imposing on the learners a greater cognitive load to process L2 information than in storage-only measurements. Second language processing has a greater load in the WM system that will affect the quality and speed of processing the language. Further investigation on how language proficiency is mediating the performance on the L2 working memory measurement is needed.

## NOTES

1. The theoretical terms *acquisition* and *learning* will be used interchangeably throughout this paper.
2. The term *short-term memory* was later reconceptualized as WM, which was an expansion to include more than just immediate storage by Baddeley and Hitch (1974).
3. Alphabet span: Participants repeat and rearrange the words in alphabetical order.
4. Backward digit span: Participants repeat the presented digits in reverse order.
5. Subtract 2 span: Participants repeat the digits after subtracting 2 from each.
6. Running item span: Participants recall the final 2-8 items from a list length of 9-17 digits.
7. Simple sentence span: Participants read, judge grammatical acceptance, and recall syntactically simple sentences (i.e., cleft-subject sentences).
8. Complex sentence span: Participants read, judge grammatical acceptance, and recall syntactically complex sentences (i.e., subject-object relative clause sentences).
9. In order to avoid population with any impairments, we used the NOT operator with the following keywords in the Boolean search: aphasi\*, deficiency, disab\*, disorder, disease, and impairment (the asterisk (\*) replaces several characters to catch various endings on words or partial words).

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## II. Linguistics



# TESTING COVERT DOWNWARD ENTAILMENT IN CHILD CHINESE

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## ABSTRACT

In this paper we present experimental results showing that despite their linguistic input, Chinese children aged 3 to 4 years old interpret sentences involving covert downward entailment differently from adults. They uniformly assigned the disjunctive interpretation in the assertion component of the test sentences, contra recent findings in child English and Japanese (Minai, Goro and Crain, 2005). We take the findings to suggest that the lack of conjunctive entailment of disjunction in simple negative sentences in Chinese may indeed interfere with the acquisition of covert downward entailment.

## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

In their recent experimental study of the interpretation of sentences involving the disjunction and focus operator *only* (e.g. *Only* Bunny Rabbit will eat a carrot *or* a green pepper), Minai, Goro and Crain (2005) found that both English- and Japanese- speaking children were sensitive to covert downward entailment, despite their divergent input of disjunction under negation. Based on their findings, they argued that the semantics of disjunction is part of the innate knowledge specified in Universal Grammar (UG).

In this paper, we report a partial replication of the research mentioned above, but this time looking at a group of Chinese children. Although Chinese has exactly the same word order as English, the disjunctive connective *huozhe* 'or' is interpreted as outside the scope of negation, like its Japanese counterpart *ka*. Findings from this study, therefore, can shed light on whether the acquisition of covert downward entailment is delayed by the misleading input of disjunction in child Chinese.

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2, we briefly summarize the linguistic background. Section 3 reviews Minai et al's (2005) study. Our experiment and the results are presented in section 4. We conclude our paper with the discussion of our findings.

## 2.0. LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND

In classical logic, disjunction ' $\vee$ ' under negation ' $\neg$ ' is assigned conjunctive entailment ' $\wedge$ ' of disjunction in the scope of negation. In other words, ' $\neg (A \vee B)$ ' is true if and only if both A and B are false. This is reflected in one of De Morgan's Laws, as shown in (1):

$$(1) \quad \neg(X \vee Y) = \neg A \wedge \neg B$$

This logical relationship is instantiated in some natural languages. In English, for example, the disjunctive connective *or* is assigned conjunctive interpretation within the scope of negation, as illustrated in example (2):

- (2)     a. John does not speak English **or** French.  
         b. John does not speak English **and** John does not speak French.

Sentence (2a) and sentence (2b) are semantically equivalent. Expressions involving such conjunctive entailment are referred to as "downward entailing."

However, not all languages conform to De Morgan's Laws. Consider the following Chinese sentence:

- (3)     Zhangsan        bu        jiang    yingyu   **huozhe**   fayu.  
         Zhangsan       Neg     speak   English   **or**        French

Literally, sentence (3) is in perfect parallel with (2a), yet its interpretation diverges from (2b). In Chinese, (3) is recast as (4):

- (4)      Zhangsan        bu        jiang    yingyu   **huozhe**   bu        jiang    fayu.  
              Zhangsan        Neg        speak   English   **or**        Neg        speak   French.

Note here the disjunctive interpretation is assigned. In order to convey the meaning of (2b) in Chinese, the conjunctive connective *he* has to be used, as in (5):

- (5)      Zhangsan        bu        jiang    yingyu   **he**        fayu.  
              Zhangsan        Neg        speak   English   **and**        French.

Although *huozhe* 'or' seems to fall into the scope of sentential negation in (3), it actually takes an inverse scope over negation. Therefore, the conjunctive entailment found in English, as shown in (2), is not manifested in Chinese.

In Japanese, the disjunctive operator *ka* patterns like Chinese *huozhe* in the sense that it also fails to license conjunctive entailment, although surface word order is SOV in Japanese. This can be seen in (6):

- (6)      Butasan-wa        ninjin   **ka**        pi'imān-wo        **tabe-nakat-ta**  
              Pig-TOP            carrot   **or**        pepper-ACC        eat-Neg-PAST  
              Literally: 'The pig didn't eat the pepper or the carrot.'  
              Meaning: 'The pig didn't eat the carrot *or* the pig didn't eat the pepper.'

(Minai, Goro and Crain, 2005)

More interestingly, in sentences where disjunction interacts with the focus operator, disjunctive interpretation remains the same across the three languages. Take a look at the English sentence in (7).

- (7)      Only Bunny Rabbit will eat a carrot or a green pepper.

This sentence can be decomposed into two conjoined propositions as shown in (8):

- (8)      a. *Presupposition:*  
              Bunny Rabbit will eat a carrot or a green pepper.  
              b. *Assertion:*  
              Everyone other than Bunny Rabbit will not eat a carrot *and* everyone other than Bunny Rabbit will not eat a green pepper.

While the presupposition in (8a) conveys the disjunctive truth condition of the original sentence, the assertion in (8b) represents the meaning that is entailed by the focus operator *only*.

As can be seen in (8), the conjunctive entailment does not show up overtly in the presupposition, but rather it is entailed covertly in the assertion component.

One empirical question immediately follows. Given the fact that negated disjunction is assigned distinct interpretations cross-linguistically (i.e. the presence or absence of overt conjunctive entailment), will the input have an effect on the acquisition of the semantics of disjunction associated with covert conjunctive entailment created by the focus operator? This is the question that Minai et al. (2005) addressed in their study, which I will turn to in the next section.

### 3.0. MINAI ET AL'S (2005) STUDY ON COVERT DOWNWARD ENTAILMENT

To our knowledge, Minai et al's (2005) study is the first attempt to investigate the interpretative interaction of disjunction with the focus operator in child language. They tested 21 English-speaking children (mean age=5;0) and 20 Japanese-speaking children (mean age=5;4) by using a Truth Value Judgment Task. One example of their test sentences is shown below in English and Japanese:

- (9) a. **Only** Bunny Rabbit will eat a carrot **or** a green pepper.
- b. Usagichan     **dake-ga**     ninjin     **ka**     piiman-wo     taberu-yo.  
     Rabbit        **only-NOM**     carrot     **or**     green pepper-ACC     eat-dec

Their experiments are designed in two conditions:

Table 1: Condition I (True) (Minai, Goro and Crain 2005)

	Carrot	Green Pepper
Winnie the Pooh	*	*
Bunny Rabbit	√	*
Cookie Monster	*	*

Table 2: Condition II (False) (Minai, Goro and Crain 2005)

	Carrot	Green Pepper
Winnie the Pooh	*	*
Bunny Rabbit	√	*
Cookie Monster	*	√

If children can correctly interpret their language's disjunctive operator *ka* 'or' associated with the presupposition proposition as shown in (8a), they will not assign conjunctive entailment. Therefore, they should judge (9) as true in Condition I. Condition II is used to tackle the assertion component of the test sentence. If the children have the knowledge that the focus operator *dake* 'only' licenses covert conjunctive entailment, in a situation specified in Condition II, they should know that everyone other than Bunny Rabbit will not eat a carrot *and* will not eat a green pepper. Therefore, they will judge (9) as false, based on the fact that Cookie Monster also ate a green pepper. Their findings are summarized in Table 3.

Table 3: Results (Minai, Goro and Crain 2005)

	% Correct Responses English	% Correct Responses Japanese
Condition I (True)	93% (39/42)	98% (39/40)
Condition II (False)	93% (39/42)	98% (39/40)
Overall Accuracy	93% (78/84)	98% (78/80)

Since both English- and Japanese- speaking children are near target-like, despite their different input, Minai et al. (2005) put forth a strong argument that "[...]the Boolean semantics for natural language disjunction is innately specified in UG and, therefore, the specific input they encounter is unlikely to seriously mislead children."

As noted in Section 2, on the one hand, Chinese disjunctive connective *huozhe* exhibits the same property as Japanese *ka*. On the other hand, Chinese has exactly the same word order as English. This, therefore, makes Chinese an ideal testing ground to investigate the effect of input on the acquisition of disjunction. We thus decide to replicate Minai et al's study on a group of Chinese children.

## 4.0. EXPERIMENT

### 4.1. Materials

We adapted the materials used in Minai et al's study to make them culturally accessible to Chinese children. The experiment was conducted in Chinese. The translated test trials are given in (10) and (11) below.

#### (10) Test trial for Condition I (True)

Experimenter (lead-in): This is Bear, this is Cat and this is Rabbit. I am going to tell you a story about all three of them.

Gua Gua (hand puppet): Great! I am fond of stories.

Experimenter (to the subject): Little Cutie, come join us.

Experimenter (telling the story): One day, Bear, Cat and Rabbit came to a vegetable garden. There were big carrots and green cabbages. They looked very fresh and tasty. Gua Gua, what do you guess will happen next?

Gua Gua: Let me see. I know Bear loves honey, but I don't know if he likes vegetables or not. I know Rabbit likes vegetables, so I guess he will go for them. As for Cat, I know he likes cookies, but I am not sure if he eats vegetables. So, this is what I guess: **Only Rabbit will eat a carrot or a green cabbage.**

Experimenter: Now let's see what will happen (manipulating the toys while telling the story). Bear looks around and decides not to eat anything because what he wants to eat is honey. Rabbit picks a carrot and eats happily. Cat takes a look at the vegetables and eats nothing because he likes cookies.

Experimenter (to the hand puppet): Gua Gua, I forgot what you guessed just now.

Gua Gua: Just now I said, **"Only Rabbit will eat a carrot or a green cabbage."**

Experimenter (to the subject): Little Cutie, is Gua Gua's guess correct?

#### (11) Test Trial for Condition II (False)

Gua Gua (lead-in): Sister, I want one more story.

Experimenter: All right. I am going to tell a story about Chibimaruko (a well-known Japanese cartoon character) and her mom and dad. One day, those three saw a huge tree. On the tree were red apples and blue apples. They all wanted to eat the apples, but the tree was very tall. They wanted to try jumping to pick the apples. Gua Gua, what do you guess will happen next?

Gua Gua: Let's see. Chibimaruko looks skinny and short. I am afraid she won't jump high. Her dad is very good at jumping and can jump very high. Her mom, however, seldom exercises and I suppose she won't jump high enough. So, this is what I guess: **Only her dad will get a red apple or a blue apple.**

Experimenter: All right, now let's see what will happen next (manipulating the toys while telling the story). Chibimaruko rushes to the tree first. She jumps and jumps, but cannot jump high enough to pick the apples. So she goes back disappointedly. Next, her dad comes to the tree. He jumps and gets a red apple easily. Finally comes her mom. She tries to jump but cannot reach the apples. Then she begins to run very fast around the tree. Guess what? She flies up and gets a blue apple from the tree.



Experimenter (to the hand puppet): Gua Gua, I forgot what you guessed just now.

Gua Gua: Just now I said, “**Only her dad will get a red apple or a blue apple.**”

Experimenter (to the subject): Little Cutie, is Gua Gua’s guess correct?

#### 4.2. Procedure

The experiment was conducted in a classroom at the kindergarten where the subjects were recruited. Before the experiment started, the experimenter played some games with each subject to make sure the subject was relaxed. Then she told the stories to the subjects individually while acting out what was happening with hand puppets and toy props. As shown in the materials, the hand puppet first presented the test sentence in the form of a prediction. After the story was told, the hand puppet was asked to repeat the test sentence for the subjects to evaluate. The experimenter took down each subject’s answers afterwards.

During the experiment, all subjects were highly motivated and showed satisfactory attention and comprehension.

#### 4.3. Subjects

The experimental group consists of four children recruited from a kindergarten in Shanghai, China, their mean age being 3;7. The detailed information of the subjects is summarized in Table 4:

Table 4: Subject Information

Subject	Date of Birth	Gender
1	08/28/02	male
2	11/09/01	male
3	11/27/01	female
4	03/02/02	male

In addition to the experimental group, a group of 6 adults (mean age =23) were tested as the control group.

#### 4.4. The Results

The results of the experiment are given in Table 5:

Table 5: Results

	% Correct Responses Experimental	% Correct Responses Control
Condition I (True)	100%	100%
Condition II (False)	0%	100%

As can be seen from the table, the control group performed as expected. They accepted the test sentence in Condition I 100% of the time and rejected it 100% in Condition II. Children showed judgments clearly deviant from adults: they judged the test sentences in both Condition I and Condition II as true 100% of the time.

## 5.0. DISCUSSION

In Condition I of the experiment, all the subjects accepted the test sentence ‘Only Rabbit will eat a carrot or a green cabbage’ on the ground that Rabbit ate a carrot, but not a green cabbage. This indicates that Chinese children correctly interpreted the disjunctive *huozhe* in the presupposition component, supporting Minai et al’s finding.

However, in Condition II where the dad got a red apple and the mom got a blue apple, our children still judged the test sentence ‘Only her dad will get a red apple or a blue apple’ as true 100% of the time. This clearly contrasts with what has been found in child English and Japanese in Minai et al’s research. We speculate that several factors might be responsible for this result.

First of all, given the fact that Chinese disjunctive connective *huozhe* in simply negative sentences does not license conjunctive entailment, our subjects were misled by this input, and incorrectly assigned disjunctive interpretation to the assertion component of the test sentence. They interpreted the sentence such that the focus operator *zhiyou* entails disjunctive meaning, that is, everyone else other than the dad will not get a red apple *or* everyone else other than the dad will not get a blue apple. Accordingly, the test sentence ‘Only her dad will get a red apple or a blue apple’ was uniformly judged as true in Condition II. If this is the case, then Minai et al’s argument that input does not have a significant effect on the acquisition of disjunction needs to be reconsidered.

The second possibility is that because our subjects (mean age = 3;7) are significantly younger than the English (mean age = 5;0) and Japanese subjects (mean age = 5;4) in Minai et al’s study, they still have not reached the age when the semantics of disjunction is acquired. If so, it follows that either this part of knowledge is not innate or its acquisition is biologically constrained.

It is also possible that there might be some methodological flaws in our experiment that confound the results. It is likely that the experimenter did not stress the focus operator *zhiyou* prominently enough, which made our young subjects focus their attention only on the truth condition of the test sentence, that is ‘her dad will get a red apple or a blue apple’. Consequently, they judged the test sentence as true in Condition II. Another potential confounding factor might be that young children have the general tendency to say ‘yes’ in their interactions with adults. However, as our subjects showed sufficient comprehension in the experiment, we do not consider this a likely factor.

To conclude, the findings from our experiment cast some doubts on Minai et al’s conclusion. Future large-scale investigations into the semantics of disjunction in child Chinese are warranted. Crucially, the immediate task we face is to test how Chinese children interpret disjunction in simple negative sentences (e.g. ‘Rabbit does not eat a carrot or a green cabbage.’), whether they assign conjunctive entailment (i.e. ‘Rabbit does not eat a carrot *and* Rabbit does not eat a green cabbage.’), or they interpret the sentence in the same way as adults do (i.e. ‘Rabbit does not eat a carrot *or* Rabbit does not eat a green cabbage.’)

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# SHIFTING *JIBUN* IN A JAPANESE TEENAGERS' TV TALK SHOW

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## ABSTRACT

This paper takes a new approach to examine the strategic use of *jibun* 'self' by Japanese teenagers in a TV talk show called *Shaberiba*. Based on a qualitative analysis of the transcribed discourse from the show, the use of *jibun* instead of 1<sup>st</sup> person pronouns is analyzed as a contextualization cue. As a contextualization cue, the use of *jibun* signals changes in speakers' interactional stance as well as in their presentation of social identities. Manifestation of different strategies emphasize that the speakers are actors who use *jibun* as a resource to achieve such strategic effects during an interaction.

## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

This paper deals with the strategic use of the Japanese word *jibun* 'self' among Japanese teenagers in a TV talk show. It explores what the teenagers try to convey through the use of *jibun*, instead of 1<sup>st</sup> person pronouns, as a contextualization cue (Gumperz, 1982; Auer, 1992, 1995; Ostermann, 2003). Although *jibun* has been studied extensively in formal linguistics as a reflexive pronoun or anaphora (e.g. Iida, 1996; Kuno, 1972), it has not been analyzed as a maneuver of speakers who choose to use *jibun* instead of other personal pronouns. This reflects a weakness of formal linguistics approaches; they do not assume that human beings are competent users of a language as a member of a certain community. Instead, formal linguistics analysis is focused on an ideal speaker of language, who has an ability to control the grammatical position of *jibun* in a sentence. This paper is based on the assumption that the role of speakers is emphasized as agents who actively use a language. Through the manipulation of linguistic resources, the speakers are considered to be able to adjust their self-presentation and stance with the interlocutors.

The use of *jibun* has also been discussed in the field of social and regional Japanese dialectology. According to the *Japanese Dialect Dictionary* (1989), *jibun* is used as a second person pronoun in the following regions: Chiba, Niigata, Mie, Osaka, and Oita. When *jibun* is used as a Topic, accompanied by a Topic marker *wa* as in *Jibun wa*<sup>1</sup> to refer to the speaker, it is often associated with a relationship in which there is a strict hierarchy between the interactants, such as in the military or in a sport club<sup>2</sup>. Thus, *jibun* is sometimes included as one of the personal pronouns 'dialectally' used by males (Kanemaru, 1993). Hirose (2000), for example, argues that the junior members use *jibun* towards the senior members to show their loyalty. However, such claims are anecdotal, and it is not certain whether people still or only use *jibun* in these particular communities. As my data shows, teenage participants of a talk show use *jibun* to express themselves irrespective of their gender and hierarchical status.

Based on the assumption that speakers are active users of language, it is necessary to examine cases in which one form is chosen over another. This is because speakers must send a certain signal of indexical or social meanings to the interlocutors through their choice. The characteristic of *jibun* is particularly interesting because *jibun* can refer to an individual without any restriction of person (i.e. 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, and 3<sup>rd</sup>) and gender. This is different from the 'conventional' Japanese first and second personal pronouns, which have various forms with certain gender distinctions—speakers are expected to use them according to their sex and their social status.

This chameleon-like characteristic of *jibun* might be attractive for speakers who do not want to specify a particular person explicitly, by using a certain personal pronoun. This indirect characteristic might remind us the anecdotal characteristics of teenagers who are said to seek a bond with others, because of their insecurity and their fear of being criticized by others (Satake, 1997; Yonekawa, 1994). However, as shown in this paper, teenagers use *jibun* not only for this bond-seeking attempt when they use it to refer to themselves. They often use it to present an image of a person who is different and distanced from others. This implies a dynamic nature of identities, which are manifested in heterogeneous ways through linguistic and non-linguistic means.

The main goal of this paper is to explore what Japanese teenagers in a nationally broadcast TV talk show try to convey through the use of *jibun*. This will help us understand what triggers them to use *jibun* where

other personal pronouns are possible. At the same time, this will support my assumption that the shift is used as a contextualizing strategy and implies the presentation of teenagers' identities or social roles that emerge locally during an interaction. As indexical meanings are created by the interactants throughout the discourse, and as "contextualization research is unthinkable without work on *naturally occurring data*" (Auer, 1992: p.25), this paper will provide a new understanding of the interactional functions of *jibun*.

## 2.0. PERSONAL PRONOUNS AND CONTEXTUALIZATION CUES

The alternation of personal pronouns has been analyzed as a speakers' strategy to adjust the status/power and psychological distance or differences between the interactants. An important example of research on pronoun alternations is Brown and Gillman's work on the use of second person pronouns (T/V) in European languages. (1960). A T-pronoun is generally used among people with an intimate relationship or towards a lower status person, while a V-pronoun is used in a formal situation or towards a higher status person. Hence, Brown and Gillman introduced the concepts of 'power semantic' and 'solidarity semantic' in personal relationships based on the use of T/V pronouns. Although their analysis is important in indicating social distance based on the use of second person pronouns, their analysis implies that a language is a reflection of a society, as they consider that the egalitarian society lead people to use T-pronouns. This view is problematic, as it does not take into account of the role of people as users of the language.

As a criticism of Brown and Gillman's simplistic model, Ostermann (2003) conducted a study of T/V patterns in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) used by professionals from two different institutions that deal with the victims of gender-related violence. Ostermann innovatively applied Auer's theory of code-alternation as a contextualization cue to the dynamic nature of pronoun alternation in BP. The speakers (professionals) used two second personal pronouns strategically and in a heterogeneous way during a counseling session with the same client. The use of T/V pronouns were no longer determined only by a hierarchical relationship. The professionals manipulated two pronouns efficiently to show both power and solidarity locally. Ostermann identified in her data two types of contextualization in the pronoun alternation; preference organization and changes in frames of interaction and footings. Professionals from the different institutions used both types differently, which is due to the different characteristics of the two communities of practice. Her study thus demonstrated the "strategic malleability of pronoun-switching as a contextualization device in BP" (p.374).

The notion of contextualization cues was developed by Gumperz (1982) who argued that communication is a "social activity" in which interactants engage. They negotiate inferred meaning by sending several signals (1). Such signals are called contextualization cues, which help interactants to decipher the indexical or social meanings that interactants create and convey during an interaction. Drawing on this, Auer developed his theory of code-alternation as a contextualization cue (1992, 1995). Similar to Gumperz' definition of cues, Auer defines code-alternation as "*a relationship of contiguous juxtaposition of semiotic systems, such that the appropriate recipients of the resulting complex sign are in a position to interpret this juxtaposition as such.*" (1995, p.116) Hence, these systems must be interpreted based on "their status on which the users of the signs decide" (p.117) and on "a process of *inferencing*, which is itself dependent on the context of its occurrence" (p.123). The contextualization cues thus emphasize the flexibility of context and the context-dependent indexical meaning of a sign that is created by the users.

The alternation between *jibun* and other personal pronouns, however, does not possess an intrinsic hierarchical difference as shown in T/V pronouns. First of all, this might be because *jibun* can be used to refer to various personal pronouns. That is, it can refer to the speakers, to the hearers, and to the third person mentioned by a speaker without any restriction of hierarchical and gender differences among them. Second, *jibun* might have been initially used by juniors to self-refer when they talk to their seniors (i.e. hierarchy involved), yet my data show that this use is not limited to this situation. It is thus necessary to explore whether the use of *jibun* helps speakers to adjust the social distance with their interlocutors.

Unfortunately, the shift of personal pronouns is not always observable in Japanese, as Japanese personal pronouns can be omitted in a conversation. For this reason, I will focus on the data in which both *jibun* and 1<sup>st</sup> person pronoun appear and refer to the same speaker in a turn sequence or within the speaker's utterance.

I believe that the occurrence of both 'pronouns' in each data will help demonstrate clearly what the shift from personal pronoun to *jibun* conveys in a particular context.

### 3.0. DATA ANALYSIS

#### 3.1. Data

My data are taken from a Japanese TV program called *Shaberiba* ('Teenagers' serious talk show'). This show is broadcast weekly on NHK (Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai, 'Japan broadcasting corporation'), and I use data from six different days, tape-recorded between March and August 2005: D1- Mar. 4<sup>th</sup>, D2 - Mar. 11<sup>th</sup>, D3 - Apr. 22<sup>nd</sup>, D4 - Apr. 29<sup>th</sup>, D5 - Jun. 10<sup>th</sup>, and D6 - Aug. 5<sup>th</sup>. There are three different groups of participants appearing during these days. The first group appears in D1 & D2, the second group in D3 & D4 & D5, and the third group appears in D6. The participants of the show are between 14 and 19 years old, and they are selected from candidates all over Japan. The members change every three months, and there are usually ten participants with equal number of males and females. In addition to a group of teenagers, one guest (e.g. an actor, an artist, a writer), who is older than the teenagers, is invited to participate in the show each week. This 45-minute-long show claims that there is no script, no moderator, and no conclusion. Hence, throughout the program, the participants continue to discuss a topic that is chosen by a particular participant. Most of the topics deal with private issues, such as problems in school or in private life, and with suggestions on how to live as a teenager. I will analyze the pronoun shift used only by the teenagers.

#### 3.2. Strategic Shift to *jibun*

A close examination of my data shows that the shift to *jibun* involves multiple strategies. One strategy can be found in the speakers' way of telling a story, and the other in the stance management with interlocutor(s). In addition, the speakers seem to present different identities or social roles in the use of 1<sup>st</sup> person pronoun and *jibun*. The first example below shows that the speaker (Iga) contrasts the amount of pocket money he receives with the amount he actually earned. At the same time, the speaker foregrounds his experience that is different and unique compared with other participants in the show. I add the date and the topic of discussion in each excerpt, unless they are already mentioned.

D1: "Let's become stingier!"

In the beginning of the show, Ike (topic presenter) asked other participants how much monthly pocket money they receive and how they use it. Iga's turn below follows after two participants who said that they earn money mostly through a part-time job.

(1)

01. Iga: *Ore waa, okozukai wa tsuki 1,000-en de, <Ito: Eeee?> ore wa gakunen de ichiban sukunaku te*  
As for me, my monthly pocket money is 1,000 yen, <Ito: surprise expression> and I receive the least among the students in my school
02. *de ore no tonari no kurasu ni suggoi junboku na yatsu ga ite*  
and in the class next to mine, there is one student who is extremely naïve
03. *soitsu ni 'tsuki nan-en dayo' de 'ni-sen-en da' 'omaemo ka' tte iu*  
I asked him 'How much (pocket money do you get ) per month?' and he said, '2,000 yen'. I said, 'You too! (=You also receive so little like me)'
04. *de ore keetai mo oya ni motasareteru kara, keetai no kihonryo wa oya ni haratte morattete*  
And, my parents told me to carry a cell-phone, so they pay its basic fees
05. *daitai sen-en wa, tsuki ni manga o katta to shitemo issatsu ka nisatsu? kurai katte*  
As for my 1,000 yen, I may use it to buy one or two comic books per month
- 06.→ *dee okozukai wa sen-en dakedoo, ano jibun wa ano kanbojia ni itte*

And my pocket money is 1,000 yen, but the fact that I went to Cambodia

07. *sorede kekko kouen toka ni yonde moratta koto mo atte*  
created a situation in which people ask me to speak about the trip in public
08. *de kekko kootsuhi toka kekko nanka soohun de tokidoki morau koto ga arun da kedo*  
and sometimes, I get the travel cost (for the speech event), which
09. *sorede ju-man gurai. Mou ichiou kifu shitari shitan da kedo zenbu, <XX: Eee sugoi> ore wa*  
amounted to about 100,000 yen. Contribution of a sort, I have already done  
<XX: Wow, unbelievable>

Iga's answer to Ike's question starts with some description of how little monthly pocket money he receives, and how he made a connection with a student in his school who also receives little. He then talks about the fact that his parents pay the basic fees for the cell phone because they asked him to carry it. He uses *ore* when he provides this information until line 04. However, he switches to *jibun* in line 06, where he talks about the fact that having been to Cambodia created a situation in which he gets his extra money through giving talks about it in public. He is only 14 years old, but he went to Cambodia as a member of a non-government organization when he was 11 years old.

Although he does not mention whether he was invited to give such talks regularly, he has earned about 100,000 yen to cover his travel costs. Through the shift to *jibun*, he then foregrounds his additional source of money and its amount, while backgrounding his little pocket money (100,000 yen vs. 1,000 yen). At the same time, Iga differentiates himself from other participants in terms of how he earns extra money. Unlike other participants who said that they gained extra money through a part-time job (an ordinary way), Iga receives much more money by giving speeches in public, which is a unique way.

In the next example, the speaker (Aki) uses *jibun* when she gives a reason for her desire of being thinner based on her own judgment. Her reason also contrasts with the reasons given by other participants.

D3: "Don't give up even if you are fat!"

The topic of the discussion of that day was suggested by Oga, who argues against the labeling of a 'fat' person. He talks about his experience of being bullied during his childhood because he was fat. Other participants also reveal their own experiences or problems regarding their physical appearance. Some participants (Kuma, Miya, Ai, Shi, Koni) said that the comment of others influenced them to take an action to improve their physical state. Aki's turn below follows right after such comments. She talks about her elementary school days in Hawai'i when she was fat.

(2)

01. Aki: *Atashi mo sugoi hutottete, sho-san kurai no toki ni nanka 50 nan kilo toka dee*  
I was also very fat, when I was in third grade, I weighed 50 something kg, and
02. *sugoi hutotte ta no nee, de nanka shiboo debu datta no nee*  
I was very fat, and I was simply fat (without any muscle)
03. *atashi nee sono Hawaii ni gonen-kan sundete,*  
I lived in Hawaii for five years
04. *Amerika tte sa shokuji no saizu toka nanka dekai jan*  
and in the USA, the meal size is much bigger than in Japan, isn't it
05. *nanka Nihon no L toka saa suupaa saizu ga Hawaii no midiam gurai nano nee*  
It's like Japanese L or super size is about Hawaiian medium size

06. *dakara nanka mawari no hito jitai gaa hutotteta kara nanka nandaroo*  
so, as everybody was fat, somehow, well
07. *anmari ~~atashi~~-teki ni waa nanka hutotteru tte iu jikaku ga nakatta no ne,*  
I did not feel that I was fat
08. *nanka hutotte ru koto ga hutsuu dakaraa*  
it was like being fat was normal
09. *de kaette kita toki ni mina yaseteru jan*  
and when I came back to Japan, I found that everybody is thin
10. *nnn nanka de ima ~~atashi~~ wa ano yasetai tte omotteru no ne*  
well, now I want to be thinner
11. *nante iuka maa himan demo nai kedo, garigari demo nakutee,*  
how can I say, I am not obese, but I am not needle thin either
12. → *kekko pottyari-kee tte kanji da to **jibun** wa omotte tee*  
I think that I am rather a round-type
13. *dee nante iuka sono yaseru tte iuno sa nanka kekko ~~atashi~~ wa kekko selufu imeeji da*  
*to omou no*  
and how can I say, I think that one's desire of being thinner depends somewhat on the self-image

Aki's story of her being fat as a child is told by using *atashi* in lines 01-08. She continues to use *atashi* in line 10 where she expresses her desire to be thinner. The shift to *jibun* occurs in line 12, where she presents the reason. This reason is based on her own judgment of how she perceives her physical state, which is expressed as *pottyari-kee* 'a round-type'. Through the shift to *jibun*, she seems to foreground the reason and emphasize that her reason is based on her own judgment, unlike the reasons of other participants who said that they were influenced by the comments of somebody else. Hence, Aki uses *jibun* to differentiate herself from others. This is also evidenced in line 13, where she expresses that the motivation of being thinner rather depends on how one thinks about one's own image. The following excerpt also shows a similar contextualization strategy.

D2: "What is the meaning of existence?"

Kato has a problem with her friends in school. She wants to feel that she is part of the group of friends on equal terms, but she cannot do something to improve her neglected situation for fear of being hated by them. Mi asks Kato whether she has any common interest with her friends on topics concerning school life that are shared by all of the students. Kato says that her relationship with the group members is worsened and that "officially" there is no longer a conversation between them.

(3)

01. Kato *Moo nichijo kaiwa ga saikin naritatte nai kamo shin nai no ne*  
It may be like no daily conversation is established between us recently
02. Mi *Naritatte nai ...*  
No (conversation) is established ...
03. Kato *Te yuuka ~~atashi~~ wa ichioo minna no naka ni irun da kedomoo*  
Rather, in a way, I am together with them but
04. *Ma kyooshitsu idoo toka minna to rooka o aruku ja nai desu ka*  
There is usually a classroom change, and the students go together to another classroom,

right?

05. *Sontoki atashi wa itsumo daitai migi hashi toka hidari hashi toka hashikkoni itee*  
In such a case, I am always at the right-end-side or left-end-side of the row
06. *Dooshitemo mannaka no kaiwa ga kikoe nakattarii yoku wakan nakattari shitee irun da kedoo*  
So, I cannot hear well the conversation taking place by the people who are in the middle, but
07. → *Jibun wa zettai kaiwa ni sanku shite nai yona to omotteru karaa*  
(I think that) I am absolutely not participating in the talk
08. *Ma sono awaseru dookoo no mondai ja nakute maa iru dake de hontoo shabette nai yoona ki ga suru karaa*  
So, rather than asking how to get along with them, I feel that I am not talking to them even though I am physically with them

In line 02, Mi repeats a part of her utterance (*kaiwa ga*) *Naritatte nai* '(No conversation) is established (between her and her friends)', as if he could not believe it. This prompts Kato to provide further explanation of what she said in line 01. She starts explaining her situation and position within a group of friends as background information, by using the 1<sup>st</sup> person pronoun (*atashi*) throughout this act. She switches to the use of *jibun* in line 07 where she talks about how she evaluates her situation. This serves as the main reason for her statement in line 01, that there is no conversation established between the group of friends and her. The shift thus reflects her way of developing her narrative. She used *atashi* to give background information, and she used *jibun* to foreground her reason based on her own judgment. Unlike in (2), her reason does not contrast with others' views. However, she seems to emphasize her reason in order to convince Mi who showed disbelief in her statement. This is also signaled by the co-occurring word *zettai* 'absolutely', which increases the justification of her feeling of not being part of the group of friends.

The shift to *jibun* helps to emphasize the speakers' position in relation to those they take while they use 1<sup>st</sup> person pronoun. The excerpt (4), which is the continuation of the discussion in (2), shows how the speaker (Miya) reveals her inner feelings by using *jibun*. Before this excerpt, Oga asked Miya what she thinks about the girls who perform judo, as she said that she wanted to be thinner like singers and actresses seen on TV.

(4)

01. Miya *Atashi sono tanin no hito ga nee juudoo toka yatteru toka waa sugoi naa toka tte omou kara*  
I admire other people who perform judo, as I find them great, so
02. *atashi wa betsuni teekoo tte no wa nai no nee*  
I don't have anything against them
03. → *Dakedo **jibun** wa naritaku nai tte kimochi ga aru no* <Kuma: Eeee?>  
But, I feel that I don't want to be like them. <Kuma: (surprise expression)>
04. Oga *Sore wa nande?*  
Why?
05. Miya *Yappari atashi wa sooyatte telebi to ka mitete hosoi karada ni naritai tte kimochi ga aru kara*  
As you know, I rather want to have a thin body like the girls who appear on TV...

Miya answers Oga, using *atashi* in the line 01 and 02, where she tells her view of the female judo performers. She shifts to *jibun* in line 03, where she tells her feeling of not wanting to be like them. Thus, she accepts other



females who perform judo, but she does not want to be one of them. This contrast is also marked in the same line with *dakedo*, a contrastive marker, and *no*, a nominalizing marker without the interactional particle *ne(e)* (line 02). This particle *ne(e)* indicates an “affective common ground between the speaker and the addressee” (Cook, 1992, p.510). The lack of *ne(e)* can also mean that the speaker distances herself from others. Also, the word *tanin* ‘others’ in line 01 is the opposite of the referential meaning of *jibun* ‘self’. These co-occurring cues help convey her emphasizing position more clearly. This is in line with Auer who argues that the presence of redundant or co-occurring contextualization cues is a property of contextualization cues (1992, 1995). Miya’s self revealing utterance prompted the surprise reaction of Kuma and of Oga who asked her for a reason. This suggests that her point of view is different from that of Kuma and Oga. Miya returns to use *atashi* in line 05 when she answers the question of Oga. This example shows that Miya’s self presentation is different when she uses the first person pronoun *atashi* from when she uses *jibun*. Where she uses *atashi*, she foregrounds her social role as a member of the talk show by answering questions and by showing involvement with others. Yet, her use of *jibun* foregrounds her inner feelings, which is different from others.

The following excerpt, also from program D3, also shows the speaker’s emphasis on his position or opinion, while revealing his inner feelings. Oga tells his experience of humiliation he received when he met his former classmate. The reason why his friend despised him was because he did not have a girlfriend. After hearing this, Shi asks him whether he does not want to be popular with girls.

(5)

01. Shi: *Jibun wa motetai to omou? Shoojiki*  
Do you want to be popular with girls? Honestly.
02. Oga: *Maa koo kikaretara ore waa motetaku nai to iu no wa uso da to shika ore ikaese nai*  
If I was asked this way, I can only answer, it would be a lie to say that I do not want to be popular with girls
03. *Sokomade ore motetai toka ore dooshitemo motetee n daa tte yuu wake demo naishii*  
It does not mean that I have a strong wish to be popular
04. *Kato itte zenzen mote nai tte yuu no mo hontoo yada naa too omou kara*  
On the other hand, I don’t like at all not being popular with girls
05. → *Dakara yappari motetai yorimo sono jibun wa nante yuu no kanaa*  
Rather than becoming popular, as for me, how can I say,
06. *jibun wa motto mokuhyoo mukatte dondon ikitai karaa*  
I rather want to make an effort to achieve my goal

Oga answers the question in a vague way, by taking a neutral position as shown in line 02-04. He uses *ore*, a 1<sup>st</sup> person pronoun, four times during this act. He then switches to *jibun* in line 05, where he restores his position and says that his priority is not a girl. His use of *jibun* can be analyzed as an emphasis of his position that is different from Shi’s who is rather concerned with being popular with girls<sup>4</sup>. This allows Oga to distance himself from Shi, and after this turn, Shi stopped asking further questions to Oga.

The above examples (4) and (5) in particular show that the speakers present different social roles or identities through the use of different ‘pronouns’. The use of 1<sup>st</sup> person pronouns seems to present a speaker’s social role or identity, who seeks to engage with others, by giving information and answering questions. The use of *jibun*, on the other hand, presents a speaker’s inner self, which is concerned only with the speaker. If this pattern can be generalized in this interactional setting of *Shaberiba*, then the following example can be explained in a similar way. It shows a case in which the speaker self-repairs the use of a pronoun from *atashi* (1<sup>st</sup> person pronoun.) to *jibun*, and *atashi* is chosen during the alignment sequences with the interlocutor.

D6: “It does not matter even if the society does not accept me”

Kado's dream is to become a professional musician. In order to achieve his goal, he decided to become a 'freeter'<sup>5</sup>, after graduating from the high school. Right before the excerpt, Kado says that he wants to do something that only he can do in order to feel the value of being. Thus, he argues that being a musician is important for him to feel such an achievement. In the following excerpt, Tana expresses her partial agreement with his opinion.

(6)

01. Tana: → *Kedo, kedo saa, atashi jibun shorai terebi no puroduusaa toka sooiu hoosookankei no*  
But, but, I want to become a producer or such a broadcasting related
02. *shigoto ni tsukitai n ya kedoo, yappari soko tte iu no demo sa, puroduusaa tte no demo*  
job, but even in such a case, if I become a producer,
03. *koo saishuu-teki ni wa saa, onaji bangumi demo sono chigau puroduusaa ga tsuku ttara*  
*chigau [mon]*  
in the end, the program will be different, if a different producer makes it
04. Kado: *[un chigau bangumi ga dekiru*  
[Yeah, there will be a different program
05. Tana: *soshitara jibun ni shika dekihen shokugyo yan <Kado: un>*  
then, it will be an occupation that only you can do <Kado: yeah>
06. *atashi wa sooiu shokugyo ni tsuki tai <Kado: un> Kado-kun to issho de <Kado un>*  
I want to have such a job <Kado: yeah> like Kado-kun said <Kado: yeah>
07. *kedo yappari jibun ga saa moshi yameta toki ni atarashiku kuru hito tte zettai iru to omou*  
*nen,*  
But, when one quits the job, a new person comes for sure
08. *kawari ga aru yan, soshitara dono shokugyo ni itemo jibun ni shika dekinai mono mo arushi,*  
There is a substitute. That means, in any occupation, there is always a thing that only you can do
09. *dakara hitotsu no shokugyo ni ryohoo ga aru nen*  
In other words, there are both (things that only one can do and that everyone can do) in an occupation.

Tana starts her turn with *kedo, kedo* ('but, but'), which signals her opposition to Kado who had occupied the previous turn and expressed his desire to have a job that only he can do. Her opposing idea is however postponed until line 07. As direct opposition is a face threatening act (Levinson, 1987), Tana seems to have decided to talk first about her own dream of working in broadcasting. As shown in line 01, she first uses *atashi*, and then corrects to *jibun* without a Topic marker *wa*, but such omission is quite frequent in a natural conversation in Japanese. Revealing her dream eventually serves as an example that supports her opinion, which at the same time allows her to avoid referring directly to Kado's situation. Hence, her use of *jibun* in the above example is avoidance or a negative politeness strategy (Levinson, 1987).

Kado's alignment and agreement are shown through the co-construction of her turn in the line 04 and his frequent back-channeling in lines 05 and 06. Such behavior might have influenced Tana to use *atashi* in line 06, if the use of the first person pronoun (*atashi*) indicates the social role of the speaker who interacts with others as a member of the talk show. In other words, she is engaging directly with Kado, by opposing him or agreeing with him through the use of *atashi*. *Jibun*, on the other hand, was not used during such an action, but rather, it was used to reveal her own dream, which is not directly relevant to Kado. I exclude the use of *jibun* in

line 08, as this use is different and does not refer only to the speaker. Analyzing the shift from *jibun* to the first person pronoun is beyond the focus of this paper. However, a consideration of a different presentation of self through the use of these 'pronouns' might be supported by analyzing a case as the above example.

Most of the previous examples, except (3) and (6), show that the speakers distance themselves from others when they use *jibun*. They use *jibun* to express their unique experiences and to emphasize their own opinions in relation to others. Taking into account the referential meaning of *jibun* as self, this might not be surprising to have a self-oriented function. However, as example (6) shows, *jibun* can be used in a different way. The following example (7) shows the case in which speakers can distance themselves from their other self, rather than distancing themselves from others.

D4: "I cannot imagine a love relationship without marriage"

Miya, a topic presenter, seeks somebody who could be a good candidate as her future spouse. She is from a family with land and tradition, and she will be the heir to the family's wealth. This means that her future husband will have to enter her family instead of the traditional situation in which she would enter his family. Below, Miya is talking about her experiences in which she had to give up the relationship because of her ex-boyfriend's situation. The guest tells Miya that she was not so serious about her ex-boyfriend, as she was able to give him up. Miya then says that her family means a lot to her.

(7)

01. Miya: *Dakedo yappari sore hodo ie to iu sonzai ga watashi wa sugoi ooki katta no*  
But, for me, my family is too important (to cause me to stop a relationship)
02. Guest: *Sonnan kini shite tara sugoi hukenkoo ya shi=*  
If you worry about such things too much, it is not healthy=
03. Miya: *=Demo yappari sa jiyuu na renai tte shitai tte yuu kimochi wa aru n da kedo*  
But, although I want to have a relationship that is more free
04. *sono dareka o suki ni nattara 'kono hito choonan de ie tsugu no kanaa' toka sonna koto bakkashi kini shittiau no*  
when I fall in love with someone, I start worrying about things like '(I wonder) whether this person is the eldest son and has to succeed his family'
05. *De sooyuu koto ki ni shitaku nai no honto wa,*  
And to tell the truth, I don't want to worry about such things
06. → *demo sooyuu koto ki ni shiteru jibun ga iru n desu yo ne*  
but a part of me is worrying about it (lit. there is such a self who is worrying about it)

The dialogue between Miya and the guest actually starts four turns prior to Miya's utterance in line 01. Miya is defending her situation with her family, while the guest is arguing against it. The guest continues to argue in line 02 that Miya's way of thinking is so unhealthy for a relationship. In the next turn, Miya starts agreeing with the guest, by confessing that she wants to be freed from such a family constraint (lines 03 and 05). Yet, she also admits that she is worrying about family situations (lines 04 and 06). So, there are two conflicting Miya's self: one who does not want to think about the family issues, and another who worries about such issues. As shown in line 06, however, the latter self is expressed in a way that she observes this part of her objectively. This is evidenced by the accompanying subject marker *ga* + the existential verb *iru*, both of which are normally used when the speaker discovers the presence of a third person, but not for the speaker. Hence, Miya uses *jibun* to distance her inner self that worries about the family issues and that has a different opinion from the guest. I believe that the inner self is her real self, always exists in the heart of a person. By distancing herself from her inner self, Miya was able to align herself with the guest. This is different from the previous examples where speakers have distanced themselves from other interlocutors. Her alignment with the guest is also evidenced by her use of the interactional particles *yo ne* in line 06. As I mentioned earlier, such interactional particles are used when speakers seek an engagement or an alignment with interlocutors. Miya's way of using *jibun* might also be

interpreted that she uses *jibun* by positioning herself in the 1<sup>st</sup> person pronoun frame, instead of by positioning herself in *jibun* frame.

#### 4.0. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

I have examined the use of *jibun* in the discourse of Japanese teenagers in the TV talk show *Shaberiba*. An important contribution of this paper is to highlight the shift to the use of *jibun* as a contextualization cue. As my data show, there are various ways in which *jibun* was used by the teenagers. I have summarized below the interactional functions of *jibun* found in my above examples.

- 1) to foreground speakers' uniqueness in relation to others (example 1)
- 2) to foreground speakers' reason that is different from others (example 2)
- 3) to foreground speakers' reason to convince interlocutors (example 3)
- 4) to emphasize speakers' inner feeling (example 4, 5)
- 5) to present a different self from a self presented in 1<sup>st</sup> p.p. (example 4,5,(6),7)
- 6) to avoid threatening the face of the interlocutor (negative politeness strategy) (example 6)
- 7) to distance herself from her inner self in order to align with interlocutors (example 7)

Some of the functions have overlapping characteristics, yet I have separated them to show the functions in detail. What these examples indicate is that the speakers use *jibun* as a contextualization strategy to signal change in 'footing' and 'frames' (Goffman, 1979). 'Footing' involves the change in the alignment or stance of speakers and hearers during an interaction. The paper demonstrated that speakers can be distanced both from the interlocutors and from their own self through the use of *jibun*. As for 'frames' Drew and Heritage (1992) have provided a clear description. "Goffman's notion of 'frame' focuses on the definition which participants give to their current social activity—to what is going on, what the situation is, and the roles which the interactants adopt within it" (p.8). They further argue that "footing addresses the reflexive and fluctuating character of frames, together with the moment-by-moment reassessments and realignments which participants may make in moving from one frame to another" (p.8-9). Thus, frame can be understood as a context that interactants create based on their activities during a talk. The paper illustrated how the teenagers in the above TV talk show achieved these actions through the use of *jibun* instead of 1<sup>st</sup> person pronouns. The shift itself does not possess any referential meaning. Yet unlike the prosodic cues, the referential meaning of *jibun* as 'self' seems to have a certain influence on the choice of the speakers.

As the data show, the 'pronoun' shift often indicates the speakers' different identities or social roles. Even though both refer to the same speaker, the use of 1<sup>st</sup> person pronoun foregrounds the role of the speaker as a member of the talk show, who interacts with others by (dis)agreeing or by answering questions. On the other hand, the use of *jibun* foregrounds the speaker-focused or ego-oriented role, by showing speakers' individuality or their inner feelings. Both identities reside within a speaker in the talk show. But one of them seems to be presented more prominently than others, depending on the context and on how they want to present their self. This supports the notion of multiplicity of identities. Although the speakers are teenagers, we cannot simply characterize their identity as insecure, seeking a bond with others.

The manifestation of identity might also be influenced by the nature of the activity that speakers are engaged in. My data are taken from a nationally broadcast Japanese TV talk show. The participants are expected to present and exchange their opinions for the discussion to continue. They may also have to develop their argument or narrative in an effective way to convince others. In addition, they may need to reveal their personal experiences as an example to emphasize their argument. At the same time, they also find it necessary to show an alignment with others as a member of the talk show. The pronoun shift that I examined in this paper might be a convenient resource for the speakers to manage such an interactional stance in their activities.

Although I focused on the shift to *jibun* from the first person pronouns in this paper, it would be interesting in the future to analyze how *jibun* is used in lieu of 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> p.p. However, a problem of pronoun omission remains in the analysis of the shift to *jibun*. I have not taken into account the role of a null pronoun in this paper in order to show clear cases of the shift. Hence, we need research on how speakers deal with null pronouns. This paper was a first attempt to analyze the use of *jibun* as a contextualization cue based on the

actual discourse data. In order to better understand the interactional function of *jibun*, we need further research of how *jibun* is used in different situations.

## NOTES

Transcription conventions

<b>bold</b>	<i>jibun</i> (speaker reference)
<b>highlight</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> person pronouns
<u>underlining</u>	co-occurred markers discussed in text
?	rising intonation
[	the beginning of overlapping
<>	backchanneling
=	latched talk
XX	unidentifiable speaker

1. Japanese sentences are constructed in topic-comment rather than subject-predicate orders often seen in Indo-European languages (Maynard, 1997). *Wa* has two functions: as a Topic marker and as a Contrastive marker. *Ga* is used as Nominative marker. Despite this difference, I will examine the use of *jibun* appearing with both markers. These markers can be omitted in a conversation.
2. Sports clubs in Japan used to involve strict hierarchy between the seniors and juniors.
3. It is arguable to what extent this 'naturalness' can be valid. We may not be able to call utterances 'natural' once participants know that their conversation is recorded and viewed by the audiences nationally. Even the presence of a guest speaker who is older than the regular members might influence their utterances. However, I refer to Auer's expression from the position that the researchers do not construct the sentences for analysis.
4. Throughout the show, he often boasts about how many girlfriends he had and how often girls are attracted by him.
5. 'Freeter' is a Japanese word which signifies a person who does not have a secure job.

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# CONTACT-INDUCED CHANGES IN THE LANGUAGES OF HAINAN

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## ABSTRACT

Six varieties from three languages spoken in Hainan—Tsat (Austronesian), Hlai (Tai-Kadai), and Southern-Min (Sino-Tibetan)—are examined. Comparing data from their ancestral languages and neighboring languages, this study discusses whether contact-induced changes in phonology and syntax have taken place in this language-contact situation. The result shows that there are several areal features in the languages of Hainan: consonant series of implosives and fricatives, monosyllabism, similar syllable canon, tones split into high and low series, and sinicized word order. These areal features converged due to the contact, and the influences are bidirectional.

## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

Hainan is an island located in the southern end of China. It is one of the provinces in the People's Republic of China. There are around 8,000,000 people who live in Hainan. 83% of the population are Han 汉族 (Chinese), while 16% are Li 黎族. There are also small percentages of Tsat 回回人 (Chamic, Austronesian), and Miao 苗族 living on the island.

For a long time, Hainan has been a place of immigrants with ethnic diversity. According to Gordon (2005), there are 8 languages spoken in Hainan. They are the Sino-Tibetan languages, Mandarin Chinese, and Min-nan Chinese (Southern Min), the four Tai-Kadai languages Lingao (Be), Cun, Jiamao and Hlai (Li), the Hmong-Mien language Kim Mun (Miao), and the Austronesian language Tsat.

According to Liang (1984), aside from the languages discussed above, there are also Danchou 儋州話, Mai 邁話, and Danjia 蛋家話, which are dialects of Yue (Cantonese). A dialect of Hakka (Chinese), called Ai 艾話 and a dialect of South Western Mandarin called Jun 軍話 are also spoken in Hainan.

The language distribution in Hainan can be roughly shown through the map in Figure 1. As shown in Figure 1, the Hlai language spreads through the central mountain area. Chinese languages are spoken in the coastal area and the northern plains. Be (Lingao) is spoken in the northwestern coast.

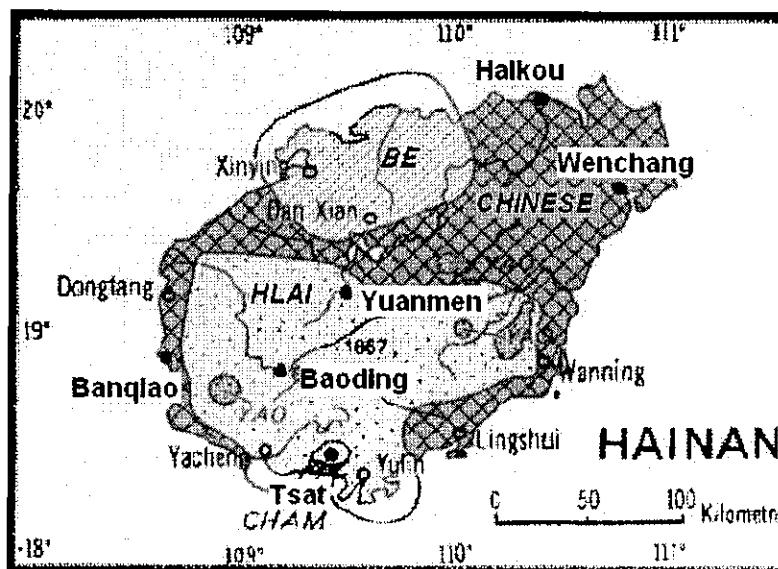


Figure 1: The language map of Hainan (Modified from ECAI, 2005)

This paper centers on a comparison of the phonology of six different language varieties in Hainan. Dialects are chosen from three major language families. They are the Hlai (Tai-Kadai) dialects: Yuanmen (Bendi dialect) and Baoding (Ha dialect);<sup>1</sup> three Southern Min dialects (Sinitic): Haikou (Fucheng dialect), Wenchang (Wenchang dialect), and Banqiao (Changgan dialect);<sup>2</sup> and Tsat (Chamic, Austronesian). The linguistic data of the six varieties are based on previous surveys of Hlai dialects (Ouyang and Zheng, 1983b), Tsat (Ouyang and Zheng, 1983a), Wenchang (Yun, 1987), Banqiao (Feng, 1989), and Haikou (Zhang, 1989). The dialect points presented are shown in Figure 1 above.

## 2.0. BACKGROUND

### 2.1. Phonological Contact-induced Change

Language contact can result in language change, extreme language mixture, and language death. In most language-contact situations, the linguistic systems involved are influenced by different degrees of borrowing or the adoption of linguistic elements by one language from another language. The most specific type of influence is the borrowing of words (Thomason, 2001, p.10). There are two kinds of borrowing: lexical and structural. The phonological, contact-induced change that is the focus of this paper is considered *structural borrowing*. According to Thomason and Kaufman (1988), structural borrowing requires a high intensity of contact. Thomason (2001) further suggested that the structural borrowing is interference as a result of imperfect learning in most situations.

According to Thomason (2001, p.93-94), there are four major requirements to make a claim of interference in contact-induced change. First, a source language needs to be identified. Second, we need to find shared structural features in the proposed source language and the proposed recipient language. Third, we must prove that the shared features—the proposed interference features—were not present in the recipient language before it came into close contact with the source language. And fourth, we must prove that the shared features were present in the proposed source language before it came into close contact with the recipient language.

In section 2.2, I will provide historical evidence for contact between the languages to suggest possible intensity of contact. In section 2.3, I will introduce the shared phonological features among the varieties. I will then further argue in Section 3 that the contact induced the change.

### 2.2. The Historical Evidence

#### 2.2.1. Hlai and Chinese

Contact between the Hlai and the Chinese was first documented in the “*Han-Shu* 漢書.” In the Han dynasty (110 B.C), Chinese troops arrived on Hainan, and several local bureaus were set up. The presence of “barbarians” was reported, and these barbarians that were described were most probably Hlai (Yang, 1988, p.3-8). Since then, Hainan has been part of the territory of China through different regencies. Thus the Chinese people, with different languages, moved to Hainan in waves - most of the immigrants were military personnel, businessmen, and refugees. Although Hainan is part of China, the Chinese government never really controlled the Hlai. For example in the Tang dynasty, the Hlai were not in the household register (Yang, 1988, p.46). In addition, there were a lot of conflicts reported between the Chinese and the Hlai.

It is not until the Song dynasty (960- 1279 A.D.), that some of the Hlai began to register with the government, and the Hlai were categorized into *sinicized Hlai* 熟黎 and *unsinicized Hlai* 生黎 (Yang, 1988, p.61). As for the sinicized Hlai, many of them lived in the same neighborhood with Chinese, and they also spoke Chinese as described by the following passage in the *Guihaiyuhengzhi: zhiman* 桂海虞衡志, 志蠻: “*sinicized Hlai know Chinese, they wear Chinese clothes to the market* 熟黎能漢語, 變服入州縣墟市” (*Fanchengda* 范成大). Furthermore, according to the Northern Song 1102-1106 census, although the Sinicized Hlai were a minority then, there were 907 Hlai tribes (*tong* 峒), which totaled a population of 64,000 registered Hlai. As for unsinicized Hlai, most of them stayed in the inland mountain area and the Chinese stayed in the coastal plain area.



In the Ming dynasty (1365-1662 A.D.), the Chinese government began to control the inland unsinicized Hlai, as it is reported that several markets were set up in the inlands. In addition, the sinicized Hlai who lived in the coastal area were considered Chinese after intermarriage and massive sinicization. For example, there was a saying called “*There is no Hlai in Wenchang* 文昌無黎.” Yang (1988, p.81) suggests that the saying was due to the fact that the sinicized Hlai were completely assimilated to Chinese. As for other sinicized Hlai, there were 41,386 (20% of the total population) registered in Hainan according to the census in 1412. Furthermore, it is worth noting that in the 1512 census, the male-to-female ratio in Hainan was 2.5:1, and historians suggest that it is due to the fact that most Chinese were single male immigrants. As a result, the intermarriage between Chinese and Hlai was very possible. As for the unsinicized Hlai, they did not register with the government in the Ming dynasty. However, they had to pay taxes and there were also government offices set in the unsinicized area.

In the Qing dynasty (1616-1911), the contact between the Hlai and the Chinese was more intense. According to Yang (1988), in 1835, the Chinese population on the island increased to 1,200,000. Due to demographic pressure, the Chinese began to move inland. Consequently there were intermarriages reported. There was even an expression, “*Chengmai has no Hlai people* 澄邁無黎”, showing that the Hlai in Chengmai county were completely sinicized. Beginning in the Qing dynasty, the government started to pay more serious attention in managing the inland Hlai region. Several important policies were implemented, such as building roads across the mountain area, creating markets in the inland mountainous area, and building the Chinese schools in major Hlai villages.

In short, the Hlai were probably all over the island when the Chinese arrived in Hainan. As more immigrants arrived, the Hlai were either sinicized or forced to move inland. The sinicization probably started around 1000 years ago, resulting bilingualism and the language shift from Hlai to Chinese. As for the inland unsinicized Hlai, there was no language shift. However, bilingualism might be expected in the major trade centers or the villages with Chinese schools.

### 2.2.2. Tsat and others

The Tsat are a Chamic people who moved from Vietnam to Hainan during the Song dynasty due to the fall of the Champa Empire (Thurgood, 1999). Historically they lived in pockets in Haikou, Danchou, Wanning, Sanya, and Lingshui. Nowadays there are approximately 9,000 Tsat people in Hainan and 80% of them lived around Sanya on the southern coast, while the other Tsat either moved back to Vietnam or assimilated with the Chinese around a hundred years ago. Only the Tsat people who lived in the Sanya area preserved their Muslim religion and culture. Despite their closed community, most of the Tsat are multilingual nowadays. The languages they might know include Southern Min, Mandarin, Cham, Cantonese, and Hlai (Fang, 2004:64-65).

The nature of historical contact between the Tsat and other ethnic groups remains controversial. Thurgood (1999) states that when the Tsat men arrived on Hainan, they typically took wives from among the Hlai. This claim is supported by Fang (2004) as he suggests that the first migration of Tsat was actually an accident involving approximately 200 fishermen blown from Vietnam to Hainan by the wind during fishing. In this case, intermarriages are thus expected. On the other hand, according to *the records of Qiong Prefecture* 瓊州府志, the Tsat ancestors “*took their families and sailed to Hainan resulting from the troublesome situation in between the Song and the Yuan dynasty* 乃宋元間，因亂挈家駕舟而來”. The record further described the Tsat culture as “*(Tsat) and the other ethnic groups do not marry each other* 不與民俗為婚，人亦無與婚者”. This viewpoint is supported by the fact that even until now, the intermarriage between Tsat and other ethnic groups is still prohibited. Therefore the contact between Tsat and other groups might not have been as intense as the contact between Hlai and Chinese.

Unlike the Hlai, the Tsat population is much smaller than the other minority groups, and their community has been relatively conservative due to their religion. Therefore it is unlikely that the other languages shifted to Tsat. For the past hundreds of years, the Tsat probably needed to learn the other languages

in order to survive on the island. However, given the population of the Tsat, any effect on language features from Tsat to other languages might not be significant. It is most probable that Tsat, as a minority language, received pressure from the majority languages.

### 2.3. The Shared Features of the Languages in Hainan

The varieties examined share some similarities in their phonology. First, the initial consonants are similar: voiceless stops, voiceless aspirated stops, and implosives occur in the area. The languages also have a series of fricatives and some affricates. As for the sonorants, /m, n, ŋ/ and /l/ are the most common. Second, all of the six varieties are monosyllabic. The typical syllable canon in these languages is C(V)V(V/C). Third, all six dialects have a series of final stops. Fourth, all the varieties discussed are tonal. The complex tones seem to be an areal feature. Most of the varieties have tones split into two registers. Last, aside from phonology, the Chinese basic word order seems to be a shared feature in Hainan too. In the next section, I will argue that some of these shared features resulted from contact-induced change, while some of them did not result from this.

## 3.0. CONTACT-INDUCED CHANGE

### 3.1. The Consonant Series

The shared features among the six varieties examined in Hainan are shown in Table 1. However, the shared features in Table 1 are not necessarily the results of contact. We need to find evidence for contact-induced change in order to claim convergence. If the shared features are found in their ancestral languages before the contact, these will be excluded because they were the same before the contact. As shown in Table 2, the reconstructed consonant inventories of Proto-Hlai (Matisoff, 1988), Proto-Chamic (Thurgood, 1999), and my reconstruction of Proto-Southern Min (PSM) are provided. These proto languages were not the languages spoken by the ancestors of the modern languages right before they arrived on Hainan. However, these proto languages are the closest resources with which to compare.<sup>3</sup> Table 2 shows that the nasals, the lateral, and the voiceless aspirated plosives were similar in the three proto languages. They also shared affricates. Therefore these consonant series were not contact-induced areal features. They were in the languages before they arrived on the island.

In terms of the voiceless unaspirated stops, we might argue that the development of  $p < *mp$ ,  $t < *nt$  in Hlai is due to the contact with the other languages. However, the picture is more complicated than it looks. In Proto-Southern Min, there were  $*p$ ,  $*t$ ,  $*k$ , but the  $*p$  and  $*t$  became implosives in Wenchang and Haikou. The current /t/ in both dialects was actually derived from  $*s$ . In this case, we cannot be sure whether /p, t/ were present in Southern Min as a source language. Although there were a series of voiceless stops in Tsat, the Tsat were a minority on the island. It is difficult to argue for Tsat as a source language.

Table 1: The consonant series of the varieties examined in Hainan

	Hlai Yuanmen	Hlai Baoding	Chamic Tsat	S. Min Wenchang	S. Min Haikou	S. Min Banqiao
vl. plosive	p t k ?	p t c k ?	p t k ?	t k ?	t k ?	p t k ?
voi plosive		<sup>g</sup>		b d g		
asp. vl. plosive	p <sup>h</sup> t <sup>h</sup> k <sup>h</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> t <sup>h</sup> k <sup>h</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> t <sup>h</sup> k <sup>h</sup>		p <sup>h</sup> k <sup>h</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> t <sup>h</sup> k <sup>h</sup>
implosive	ɓ ɗ	ɓ ɗ	ɓ ɗ	ɓ ɗ	ɓ ɗ	
nasal	m n ŋ n ŋ	m n n ŋ	m n n ŋ	m n ŋ	m n ŋ	m n n ŋ
fricative	v z h	f v z h	v s z h	ɸ ɸ h f i	v s z h	v θ s h
affricate	pʈ ts	ts	ts	tɕ dʒ	ts	ts dz
asp. Affricate	pʈ <sup>h</sup> tɕ <sup>h</sup>	tɕ <sup>h</sup>				ts <sup>h</sup>
lateral fric.	ɬ	ɬ				
lateral	l	l	l	l	l	l
trill	r	r (or tap)				
approximant		?w ?j				

Table 2: The consonant series of the varieties before arriving in Hainan

	Proto-Hlai (Matisoff, 1988)	Proto-Chamic (Thurgood, 1999)	Proto-Southern Min
vl. plosive	k ʔ	p t k ʔ	p t k
voi plosive		b d g	b g
asp. vl. plosive	p <sup>h</sup> t <sup>h</sup> k <sup>h</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> t <sup>h</sup> k <sup>h</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> t <sup>h</sup> k <sup>h</sup>
implosive	ɓ ɗ	ɓ ɗ	
nasal	m n ɲ ŋ	m n ɲ ŋ	m n ŋ
fricative	f v s z x ɣ	s h	s h
affricate	ts	tʃ	ts dz
asp. affricate	ts <sup>h</sup>		ts <sup>h</sup>
lateral fric.	ɬ ɮ		
lateral	l	l	l
trill (or flap)		r	
approximant	w ɹ j	w j	
asp. voi. plosive		d <sup>b</sup> g <sup>h</sup>	

As for the implosives, they are found in Proto-Hlai and Proto-Chamic, but not in Proto-Southern Min. However, after the contact, Wenchang and Haikou developed the implosives from their voiceless unaspirated stops. Therefore this sound change may be contact-induced because it fulfills the criteria mentioned by Thomason (2001) in the previous section. Implosives as an areal feature are not surprising, because the glottalized feature of voiced stops is a common feature in the east of Mainland Southeast Asia (Haspelmath et al., 2005). This glottalized feature can be considered as a part of the larger areal features.

In Hainan, there is a significant tendency towards fricatives. According to Matisoff (1988), there were \*f, \*v, \*s, \*z, \*x, \*ɣ in Proto-Hlai.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, Proto-Southern Min and Proto-Chamic only had \*s and \*h. However, a series of at least four fricatives are found in all the varieties examined. According to the sound correspondences, the fricatives in different Southern Min dialects in Hainan developed from various resources such as PSM voiced stop, voiceless aspirates, and affricates; and the fricatives in Tsat developed from the PC approximants. Both Southern Min and Tsat developed more fricatives after arriving in Hainan, and this is possibly due to contact with Hlai.

From the discussion above, with regard to the consonant series, it seems to be the case that Proto-Hlai was the source language of the contact-induced change. Southern Min and Tsat were the recipient languages which borrowed the features such as implosives and fricatives through the contact. In the next 2 sections, I will provide the possible explanation for the mechanism of these sound changes.

### 3.1.1. The sound changes of the Southern Min dialects in Hainan

In Table 3, three other Southern Min dialects in Mainland China are provided for comparison. Zhanzhou and Amoy are located in Southern Fujien (Min) Province. Chouzhou is located in coastal Guangdong (Canton) province, and it is believed that Southern Min emigrants first arrived at Chouzhou, then moved to Hainan (Yun, 1987). Moreover, the onsets of the other Southern Min languages found in the 23 dialects in Mainland China are similar to each other (Zhou, 1986). Therefore I have reconstructed a Proto-Southern Min form and compared it with the sound correspondences in the Hainan dialects that are listed.

Table 3: the sound correspondence of the onsets between Southern Min dialects

P-SM	*p	*t	*k	*p <sup>h</sup>	*t <sup>h</sup>	*k <sup>h</sup>	*b	*g	*s	*h	*ts	*ts <sup>h</sup>	*dz	*Ø
Zhanzhou	p	t	k	p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>	b	g	s	h	ts	ts <sup>h</sup>	dz	Ø
Amoy	p	t	k	p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>	b	g	s	h	ts	ts <sup>h</sup>	l	Ø
Chouzhou	p	t	k	p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>	b	g	s	h	ts	ts <sup>h</sup>	z	Ø
Banqiao	p	t	k	p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>	v	ŋ	s/θ	h	ts/s	ts <sup>h</sup> /s	dz	Ø
Haikou	ɸ	d'	k	p <sup>h</sup>	h	k <sup>h</sup>	v	ŋ/k/v/h	t	h	t/ts	s	z	Ø
Wenchang	ɸ	d'	k	ɸ	h	h	b	g	t	fi	t/tɕ	ɕ	dʒ	ʔ

Note: there are also /\*m, \*n, \*ŋ, \*l/ in Southern Min. They are very stable in all the dialects.

The three Southern Min dialects of Hainan are very different from each other in terms of their onset consonant inventories. The sound changes are listed in Table 4. Comparing these three dialects, Banqiao is relatively the most conservative. It preserves the aspirated/unaspirated voiceless stops series. On the other hand, both Wenchang and Haikou are more innovative because they all developed implosive sounds, they lost /t<sup>h</sup>/ and /ts<sup>h</sup>/, and they changed \*s > t. Furthermore, Wenchang has the most changes among the three dialects, such as the spirantization of \*p<sup>h</sup> and \*k<sup>h</sup>, the palatalization of the affricates, and \*h>fi. Generally all three Hainan dialects acquired more fricatives in different ways. Banqiao developed /v, θ, s/; Haikou developed /v, s, h, z/; and Wenchang developed /ɸ, h, fi, ɕ/.

Table 4: The sound changes in the Southern Min dialects of Hainan

Banqiao	Haikou	Wenchang
	*p > ɸ	*p > ɸ
	*t > d'	*t > d'
		*h > fi
	*t <sup>h</sup> > h	*t <sup>h</sup> > h
		*k <sup>h</sup> > h
*b > v	*b > v	*p <sup>h</sup> > ɸ
*ts <sup>h</sup> > s/_i,	*ts <sup>h</sup> > s	*ts <sup>h</sup> > ɕ
*ts > s/_[frontV]	*dz > z	*ts > t/_[back V]
*s > θ	*ts > t/_[+lowV, +backV]	*s > t
	*s > t	*ts > tɕ/_[frontV]
*g > ŋ	*g > ŋ/k/v/h unconditionally	*dz > dʒ
		*l > d (sporadically)
		Ø > ʔ /# _V

According to the criteria in 3.1, the development of implosives and fricatives may be contact-induced. However, it is surprising that the voiceless stops became the implosives. This is unusual because there were voiced stops in PSM, and we might expect that voiced stops are more likely to become implosives because their phonetic values are closer. But, this is not the case in Southern Min. We might postulate the intermediate steps from the voiceless stops to the voiced stops, then to the implosives, yet Wenchang remained the bilabial voiced stop, which rejects the possibility of such intermediate steps. Perhaps the intermediate steps are through some kinds of glottalization from p > p<sup>ʔ</sup> > b<sup>ʔ</sup> (6).

The development of the implosives in Wenchang and Haikou is probably due to substrate interference. Thomason (2001) provided a model of substrate interference when two languages came into the contact:

First, learners carry over some features of their native language into their version of the Target Language (TL), which can be called TL2. Second, they may fail (or refuse) to learn some TL features, especially marked features, and these learners' errors also form part of the TL2. If the shifting group is not

integrated into the original TL speech community, so that (as in the case of Indian English) its members remain as a separate ethnic or even national group, then the TL2 becomes fixed as the group's final version of the TL. But if the shifting groups is integrated into the original TL-speaking community, so that TL1 speakers form one speech community with TL2 speakers, the linguistic result will be an amalgam of the two, a TL3, because TL1 speakers will borrow only some of the features of the shifting group's TL2. In other words, TL2 speakers and TL1 speakers will negotiate a shared version of the TL and that will become the entire community's language. (p. 75)

As the historical evidence in section 2.2 shows, some of the Hlai have been sinicized for over a thousand years. This sinicization implies the sinicized Hlai learned a local Chinese language (probably an early Southern Min) as a second language. According to Matisoff's reconstruction of Proto-Hlai (1988), he argued that there was no aspiration distinction for \*p-, or \*t- in initial position and there were \*ʂ, \*d in Proto-Hlai. Likewise Ostapirat (2004) also provided the same point of view on the aspiration distinction in /p, t/ despite their different reconstructions. As a result, it is very possible that the p/p<sup>h</sup> distinction in early Southern Min was realized as a ʂ/p<sup>h</sup> distinction by early Hlai speakers, and that second language acquisition was responsible for reinterpreting the aspiration distinction. Therefore as suggested by Thomason (2001), TL1 (Southern Min speakers) and TL2 (sinicized Hlai speakers) formed the TL3 speech community (Haikou and Wenchang dialects of Southern Min), in which the ʂ/p<sup>h</sup> distinction is kept.

Substrate interference may also partly explain the spirantization in the three dialects of Southern Min. Although spirantization of stops or affricates is a common sound change attested in many languages, this did not happen in the other Southern Min dialects on Mainland China. In addition, generally the aspirated sounds in Southeast Asia are more heavily aspirated than other languages; it is possible that the sinicized Hlai brought the feature of more heavily aspirated obstruents into the Southern Min in Hainan. Therefore the aspirated obstruents in Southern Min may have been more susceptible to spirantization, for example ts<sup>h</sup> > s/\_i (\*s > θ) in Banqiao, \*t<sup>h</sup> > h and \*ts<sup>h</sup> > s in Haikou, and \*p<sup>h</sup> > ʂ, \*t<sup>h</sup> > h, \*k<sup>h</sup> > h, \*ts<sup>h</sup> > ʂ in Wenchang. Moreover, Zhang (1989) described the /p<sup>h</sup>/ in Haikou as being more aspirated than other Chinese languages, which also supports this hypothesis. Finally, the substrate interference might also explain the \*h > ʂ in Wenchang because in both Ostapirat and Matisoff's reconstructions there is no \*h in Proto-Hlai. The second language speakers of Sinicized Hlai might have substituted \*h with other sound, most likely with \*ʂ in Matisoff's reconstruction.

### 3.1.2. From Proto-Chamic to Tsat

As shown in 3.1, the development of fricatives in Tsat is contact-induced. However, I will argue here that the development is actually a secondary contact-induced change. It is contact-induced, but probably not through direct borrowing. When we look at the sound changes from Proto-Chamic to Tsat, the major difference is the development from disyllabism to monosyllabism, and when a disyllable collapses into a monosyllable, we expect the syllable to be heavier, with a more complex onset. So we might conclude that Tsat developed fricatives from the Proto-Chamic medial approximants, or from simplified initial consonant clusters. For example PC \*məray > Tsat /za:iŋ<sup>42</sup>/ 'come', and PC \*wər > Tsat /van<sup>33</sup>/ 'forget'. Furthermore, parallel to the development of the fricatives, the initial voiceless stop in Tsat is usually from the onset of the second syllable in Proto-Chamic, such as PC \*satuk > Tsat /tuŋ<sup>24</sup>/ 'boil; cook', or from the initial cluster reduction such as PC \*pluh > Tsat /piu<sup>55</sup>/ 'ten'. The similar development can also be found in voiceless aspirates in the collapsed monosyllables. For example, PC \*bra:s > Tsat /p<sup>h</sup>ia<sup>11</sup>/ 'rice(husked)' and PC \*hidup > Tsat /t<sup>h</sup>iuŋ<sup>42</sup>/ 'live, alive'.

### 3.2. Word Shape and Syllable Canon

Table 5 illustrates the word shape and syllable canon of the 6 varieties examined. The typical word shape for the languages in Hainan is monosyllabic, and the typical syllable canon for the languages of Hainan is C(V)V(V/C).

Table 5: The word shape and the syllable canon of the varieties examined

	Syllable Canon	example	Vowel length distinction	Syllabic nasal
Hlai, Yuanmen	C(C)V(V/C) or CV(:)(V/C)	plaur <sup>3</sup> 'near' du:i <sup>1</sup> 'rope'	✓	
Hlai, Baoding	C(C)V(:)(V/C)	hwe:k <sup>7</sup> 'banana' pla:c <sup>9</sup> 'slide'	✓	
Tsat	C(C)V(V/C) or CV(:)(V/C)	liak <sup>33</sup> 'crab' ʔu:n <sup>33</sup> 'happy'	✓	
S. Min, Wenchang	C(V)V(V/C)	tiau <sup>21</sup> 'small'		✓
S. Min, Haikou	(C)(V)V(V/C)	kuai <sup>35</sup> 'weird'		
S. Min, Banqiao	(C)(V)V(V/C)	huai <sup>33</sup> 'bad'		

In terms of the Southern Min dialects, the syllable canon of Proto-Southern Min is C(V)V(V/C). Therefore the obligatory initial consonant, /ʔ/, in Wenchang is probably a later development. In addition, the syllabic nasal is a common feature in most of the Southern Min dialects. However, among the Southern Min in Hainan, only Wenchang preserved the nasalized vowel, and it is noted by Yun (1987) that the syllabic nasals in Wenchang occur much more infrequently than in its sister languages.

As for the Hlai dialects, the word shape in Proto-Hlai is probably \*C(C)V(V)(V/C) in Matisoff's reconstruction (1988).<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, Ostapirat (2004) reconstructed the sesquisyllable shape \*(V)CV(:)(V/C) in Proto-Hlai. Both of their reconstructions suggest that the syllable shape in Yuanmen is innovated because in Yuanmen it is not possible to have a complex initial if there is a heavy rime, like the CCV:V we find in Baoding. For example, Baoding /hwo:n<sup>1</sup>/ 'smoke' corresponds to /ɣu:n<sup>4</sup>/ in Yuanmen; Baoding /hjo:p<sup>7</sup>/ 'rat-trap' is /ɣuap<sup>8</sup>/ in Yuanmen. Furthermore, Yuanmen also has the tendency to disfavor long vowels. For example 'intestine' in Baoding is /ra:i<sup>3</sup>/, in Yuanmen, /ruai<sup>6</sup>/; 'forget': Baoding /lu:m<sup>2</sup>/, Yuanmen /lu:m<sup>2</sup>/, In fact, unlike Baoding, where long vowels combine freely with final consonants, /-a:u/ is the only rime with a long vowel in Yuanmen, and other V:(V/C) sequences are reported to diphthongize a long vowel before a coda. For example /i:u/ → [ieu], /u:i/ → [uəi]. In short, only Baoding accepts the complex onset with heavy rime CCV:V, and Yuanmen has the unusual weight constraint that a 3 mora (CVV)V word cannot have a complex onset, which make its syllable shape closer to the other languages in Hainan.

Tsat is a fascinating case in terms of its word shape. According to Thurgood (1999), Proto-Chamic is disyllabic and has length distinction. Unlike its sister languages, Tsat became monosyllabic just like its neighbors in Hainan. Tsat retained its vowel length distinction from its ancestors. However, Tsat also avoids extremely heavy syllables like those we find in Baoding. For example PC \*huda:ŋ > Tsat /sa:n<sup>11</sup>/ 'rain'.

### 3.3. Final Consonants

In Table 6 we can see that all six dialects have final consonants. The common final consonants are /n, ŋ/ and /t, k, ʔ/. In Proto-Hlai there were /\*-p, \*-t, \*-c, \*-k, \*-ʔ/ and /\*-m, \*-n, \*-ɲ, -ŋ/ in Ostapirat's reconstruction (2004), and Yuanmen merged the final palatals with other final consonants while Baoding still preserved most of them. However, it is hard to argue that the merger is a contact-induced change because it is a common sound change through all the languages.

As for Tsat, there is only /n, ŋ, t, k, ʔ/ (Ouyang and Zheng, 1983), Maddieson and Pang (1993) even argued that the /t, k/ is actually the glottalized final nasal /-nʔ/ and /-ŋʔ/. Historically, according to Thurgood (1999), PC \*-m merges with \*-n and \*-ŋ. In addition, Proto-Chamic and all the Proto-Chamic final stops (\*-p, \*-t, \*-c, \*-k, \*-ʔ) became /-ʔ/ in Tsat. In fact the sound changes PC \*-h, \*-s > Ø and \*-p, \*-t, \*-c, \*-k, \*-ʔ > /-ʔ/ are responsible for the tonogenesis in Tsat. In general, Tsat has lost a lot of final consonants.

As for Southern Min, there were /\*-p, \*-t, \*-k, \*-ʔ/ and /\*-m, \*-n, \*-ŋ/ in Proto-Southern Min. Only in Banqiao, /-m/ merged with the other final nasals, and all the final stops merged into the glottal stop. In sum, all three languages had final voiceless stops before they arrived, thus it is hard to argue that /-n, -ŋ, -t, -k, -ʔ/ as a contact-induced areal feature because the convergence is not found in Tsat and the merger in some dialects might be independent sound changes.

Table 6: The final consonants in the varieties examined

	Hlai Yuanmen	Hlai Baoding	Tsat	S. Min Wenchang	S. Min Haikou	S. Min Banqiao
-m	✓	✓		✓	✓	
-n	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
-ɲ		✓				
-ŋ	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
-p	✓	✓		✓	✓	
-t	✓	✓	(✓)	✓	✓	
-c		✓				
-k	✓	✓	(✓)	✓	✓	
-ʔ	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓

### 3.4. Tones

Figure 2 is the tone boxes of the six varieties. As shown, all six varieties are tonal. The numbers 1 and 2 in the left column of the tone boxes indicate the split into high and low tonal registers. The A, B, C, and D indicate the different tone categories; the D indicates the syllable is checked according to the conventions of sinologists. The numbers inside each box represent the pitch values of the tones.

Haikou (Southern Min)					Wenchang (Southern Min)					Banqiao (Southern Min)				
	A	B	C	D		A	B	C	D		A	B	C	D
1	13	21	35	5	1	55	ʔ21	11	ʔ51	1	33	11	35	ʔ55
2	22	33		3	2	33		ʔ42		2	21	42		ʔ33

Baoding (Hlai)					Yuanmen (Hlai)					Tsat (Chamic)				
	A	B	C	D		A	B	C	D			-ʔ	*-h/*-s	
1				55	1	42	51	44	55	1	33	24	55	
2	53	55	11	11 53	2	11	131	13	13	2	11	42		

Figure 2: The tone boxes in the six varieties

All the varieties examined split their tones into high and low registers except for Baoding. Historically, there are only tones, but no tonal register distinction in Proto-Hlai. Therefore the two tonal registers in Yuanmen are a later development. As for Tsat, the Tsat probably arrived on the island with high and low registers (Thurgood, 1999), then Tsat developed the contour and level tones through final consonants in Hainan. As for the Southern Min, they retained the features as in the other Southern Min dialects, which is the merger between B2 (yang shang) and C2 (yang qu). The only change in the tone box is that the C2 and D2 merged in Wenchang. As the discussion above shows, we can probably conclude that the areal feature is movement towards a complex tone system. Yuanmen borrowed the register difference from Southern Min, and Tsat may have developed the tones under the influence of Hlai and Southern Min.

As for the tone values, they have changed quickly across the dialects. For example, in the three dialects of Southern Min, the same tone box has different pitch values. The only thing in common in the tone value showing in figure 2 is that all the varieties with a complex tone system have three level-tones. On the contrary, the falling and rising tones are more different. Yet it might as well be a difference in the pitch transcription. The pitch value 13 transcribed in Haikou may not necessary be equal to the pitch value 13 in Yuanmen. Further research needs to be done on the exact properties of these tones.

### 3.5. Word Order

Table 7 illustrates the basic word order of languages in Southeast Asia and Hainan. As shown in Table 7, head-modifier is a common Mainland Southeast Asian typological feature (Haspelmath et al., 2005). However, this consistent typology was not found in any of the three languages examined. This is particularly surprising in the case of Hlai, as its sister languages in the Tai subgroup have the order *head, modifier*. Meanwhile, the typical word order of Austronesian languages is also head, modifier. Therefore Tsat and the Hlai languages were probably head-modifier languages before they arrived on Hainan. On the other hand, Southern Min, like other Chinese languages, does not act like a head-initial language at all except for the VO word order. The data clearly shows that the Southern Min in Hainan retained the notorious un-harmonic word-order typology of Chinese languages.<sup>6</sup>

Table 7: The word order of languages in South East Asia (SEA) and Hainan

SEA	Hlai	Tsat	Southern Min
V-O	V-O	V-O	V-O
N-Mod	N-Mod	N-Mod	
	Mod-N	Mod-N	Mod-N
P-NP	P-NP	P-NP	P-NP
		NP-P	NP-P
(V-Adv)	V-Adv	V-Adv	
	Adv-V		Adv-V
V-PP	V-PP		V-PP
	PP-V	PP-V	PP-V
N-Relative	N-Relative	N-Relative	
		Relative-N	Relative-N

In this section I have provided synchronic evidence that the languages are converging. As we can see in Table 6, both Hlai and Tsat have word orders with Southeast Asian features, the head-modifier. However, modifier-head aspects of a word order can also be found in Hlai and Tsat, and those features match the Southern Min ones. It is typologically unusual to develop the opposite word order unless through language contact. Thurgood (2002) also suggested that the syntax of Hlai and Tsat are moving toward the Chinese language.

### 4.0. CONCLUSION

In sum, all the Hainan varieties I have examined show contact-induced convergence. In Southern Min, Banqiao is the conservative one as it only developed more fricatives through contact. Haikou is more innovative in that it acquired implosives and developed a series of fricatives. Wenchang is the most innovative one as it has undergone enormous initial-consonant changes to acquire implosives and fricatives. The obligatory initial consonant also seems to be a contact-induced change.

In Hlai, Baoding is more conservative because it retained the heavy syllable, vowel length distinction, and the tone did not split into high and low registers. On the other hand, through language contact, Yuanmen is moving toward a lighter syllable canon and disfavoring its vowel length distinction, and the tones in Yuanmen even split into high and low registers, as we find in its Southern Min neighbors.



Tsat is the language which underwent the most rapid change. Thurgood (1999) gives a detailed explanation. Since arriving on the island, Tsat has gone from disyllabic to monosyllabic, and from register to tonal. The collapse of the first syllable also resulted in the development of fricatives, and the tonogenesis gave rise to the reduction of final consonants. These resultant accompanying changes also make Tsat more like its neighbors.

This conclusion also further confirms the historical evidence we have. Although Yuanmen is considered as a *Bendi* 'local' group of Hainan, it is more innovative than Baoding. One explanation is that *local* simply means that they have been on the island for the longest time, as the Hlai moved to Hainan in different waves. The longer the Yuanmen language stayed, the more contact it had with Chinese. Second, in regard to the geographical location, Yuanmen is located in the northwest of the mountainous area, closed to Danchou 儋州 while the Ha group (Baoding) is located in the southwest part of the island. According to *Zhufanzhi* 諸番志 (1225), the southwest part of the island (which belongs to the Jiyang troop 吉陽軍) had many unsinicized Hlai people, and "*There were often conflicts between Hlai and Chinese* 時有侵擾之害" while in the northwestern part of the island, conflicts were not reported. The opposition in the southwest part would probably not result in a close contact between the Chinese and the Hlai. Lastly, the Yuanmen sinicization might also correlate with the settlement patterns of the Chinese people, who occupied Hainan from north to south. Presumably the contact with the Bendi group was earlier than with the Ha group.

Historical evidence also supports the contact-induced change in Wenchang. As stated above, for the past thousand years, the sinicized Hlai lived in the northern plain and had actually been fully sinicized in the Wenchang County. On the other hand, the initial consonant sound change in Wenchang looks like substrate interference due to imperfect learning by the sinicized Hlai. In this case, the linguistic and historical evidence match very well. As for Haikou, the dialect region (Fucheng) was also reported to have sinicized Hlai. However, Haikou has less Hlai influence. It is probably because Haikou has been the capital of the island for a long time, and there were probably more Chinese than Hlai in the more urban areas. In addition, new Chinese immigrants probably arrived at Haikou first, which brought in more Chinese language features in that region, resulting in less substrate interference. As for Banqiao, unfortunately there is no sufficient historical evidence for the date they moved to Hainan. Presumably it is much later because they are located in the southern part of the island and there was less Hlai influence there.

While the mechanism of the contact-induced change in Wenchang and Haikou is probably substrate interference, the mechanism of contact-induced change in Tsat is rather mysterious. Because of the characteristics of its Muslim culture, Tsat is a rather closed community. Inter-marriage has been forbidden, and the Tsat people are definitely a minority. As a result the interference from non-native speakers was very unlikely. However, after 800 years of contact, Tsat has changed a great deal in its phonology. The actual mechanism of the contact-induced change needs to be further pursued because this is not likely to be coincidental.

In this paper I provide a rather broad view of the convergence in Hainan. The three languages show different ways to converge. I speculate the change in Southern Min might be due to the imperfect learning from Hlai. However, explaining the mechanism of the sound changes in Hlai and Tsat will require more efforts.

#### NOTES

1. There are three other dialects of Hlai: Qi, Meifu, and Jiamao (Ouyang, 1983). The status of Jiamao as part of Hlai is controversial (Ostapirat, 2004; Gordon, 2005). I chose Yuanmen of the Bendi (which means 'local' in Chinese) dialects, and Baoding of the Ha dialects, which is widely spoken by 55% of the Li people and is considered the standard dialect (Ouyang and Zheng, 1983).
2. There are five different dialectal regions of Southern Min in Hainan. They are Wenchang 文昌, Fucheng 府城, Wanning 萬寧, Changgan 昌感, and Yiaju 崖口. Wenchang belongs to the Wenchang dialect region which is spoken in the northeast plains. It is also considered standard Hainanese. Haikou is spoken around the northern city Haikou which belongs to the Fucheng dialect region. Banqiao is spoken in the southwestern coastal area, which is part of the Changgan dialect region.

3. In the following parts, I will refer to the proto languages as the language before the contact. This might be problematic in some cases, but I will make further references if needed.
4. According to Ostapirat (2004) Proto-Hlai had \*s as the only fricative, the fricatives in modern dialects were derived from medial stops in sesquisyllabic words or from approximants.
5. Although Matisoff (1988) only reconstructed the initials and tones, from his reconstruction we can predict that his reconstruction of Proto-Hlai syllable canon probably have at least C(C)V(V)(V/C), because in his reconstruction, Baoding hj- < PH \*hy- and we can find minimal pairs /hjop<sup>7</sup>/ 'leak' and /hjo:p<sup>7</sup>/ 'rat-trap' in Baoding. The rhyme o:p in Baoding corresponds to o:p, uap, and ɔ:p in other dialects. Therefore the syllable shape reconstructed by Matisoff is probably C(C)V(V)(V/C).
6. It is also written in non-academic sources that the Chinese in Hainan sometimes use N-Modifier construction. It is very possible and needs to be confirmed in the future.

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# THE INVOLUNTARY STATE CONSTRUCTION IN SERBO-CROATIAN

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## ABSTRACT

The meaning of the involuntary state construction in Serbo-Croatian is not easily derivable from its morphosyntactic composition. In contrast to previously proposed analyses, I derive the meaning of this construction without recourse to unmotivated null elements, thus providing a more elegant and theoretically more appealing solution. This analysis predicts the existence of causative structures with semantically suppressed external roles, parallel to a similar proposal raised by Pylkkänen (1999b) for Finnish desiderative causatives.

## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

The involuntary state construction in Serbo-Croatian (1) exhibits several intriguing properties that distinguish it from the canonical active sentence in (2).

- (1) Marku        se        jedu                      orasi.  
Mark.DAT   SE       IMPERF.eat.PRS.3. PL   walnuts.NOM.PL  
'Mark feels like eating walnuts.'
- (2) Marko        jede                      orahe.  
Mark.NOM   IMPERF.eat.PRS.3.SG   walnuts.ACC.PL  
'Mark eats/is eating walnuts.'

First, it selects for a dative experiencer NP, even though the predicate verb bears active morphology and normally selects for an agent. Indeed, the agent argument, typically marked by nominative case, has no obvious realization in the involuntary state construction. Second, it occurs with the clitic pronoun *se* whose syntactic properties and exact function are yet to be determined. Third, this construction uses an active eventive verb but denotes a noneventive state. Thus, (1) reflects only an involuntary desire, need or urge to eat but not the activity of eating walnuts. Finally, the source of this involuntary desiderative meaning is not morphologically or lexically grounded and, therefore, seems entirely unmotivated.

In order to account for the stative, involuntary desiderative meaning, previous analyses have postulated the existence of phonetically null elements: either a null modal verb within a monoclausal structure (Franks, 1995; Rivero, 2003) or a covert lexical psych-verb in a biclausal construction (Marusic and Zaucer, 2005). However, the *ad hoc* insertion of such a null element is unnecessary and theoretically undesirable. Instead, this study will show that the meaning of the involuntary state construction can be derived compositionally, without recourse to additional null elements.

Under my proposed analysis, it is necessary to frame the dative experiencer NP as a raised extra argument which has been merged into [Spec, ApplP] of a vP-internal applicative phrase. To support this view, I provide evidence for a causative structure with a semantically suppressed external role and draw a parallel with a similar structure proposed for Finnish desiderative causative construction in Pylkkänen (1999b). The analysis presented below is framed within the theoretical framework of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky, 2000; 2001).

## 2.0. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

Serbo-Croatian is a south Slavic language spoken in the Balkan region. It displays a basic SVO word order but with considerable variation, requires overt nominative-accusative case system and subject-verb agreement marking, and allows subject pro-drop.



## 2.4. Two Puzzling Properties of the Involuntary State Construction

### 2.4.1. The dative experiencer

Dative-marked NPs in Serbo-Croatian typically bear goal, recipient, beneficiary, or addressee theta-roles and are typically found in sentence-medial or sentence-final positions. Such datives are uniformly analyzed as indirect objects (9).

- (9) Marko je poslao Mari pismo.  
 Mark.NOM AUX PERF.send.PST.MASC.SG Mary.DAT letter.ACC.SG  
 'Mark sent Mary a letter.'

In addition, dative NPs can also bear the experiencer theta-role, in which case they typically occur sentence-initially. This is illustrated by the involuntary state construction in (1) and (3) as well as the impersonal adverbial construction in (10) and psych-verb construction in (11).

- (10) Marku je hladno.  
 Mark.DAT AUX.3.SG cold.NEU  
 'Mark is cold (lit. To Mark it is cold).'
- (11) Marku smetaju jaki mirisi.  
 Mark.DAT bother.PRS.3.PL strong.NOM.3.PL smell.NOM.3.PL  
 'Mark is bothered by strong smells (lit. Strong smells bother to Mark).'

It is widely assumed that the experiencer theta-role and dative case for both the impersonal adverbial (10) and psych-verb (11) are assigned lexically through the inherent case of the predicate (but see Franks (1995) for a different proposal). However, this analysis cannot be applied in structures where there is no inherent dative case, as it is the case with the involuntary state construction which occurs with agentive verbs. In light of the dative experiencer NP's case-marking and inability to trigger agreement, descriptive grammarians propose that it relates to the verb as an indirect object but simultaneously functions as a topical noun, namely, an oblique case-marked nominal which represents "what the sentence is about" (Stanojic et al., 1989; 1992).

More recently, dative experiencers in similar constructions in Russian have been analyzed either as 'quirky subjects' (Avrutin and Babyonyshev, 1997) or as 'Inversion nominals', that is, initial subjects and final indirect objects (Moore and Perlmutter, 2000). Moore and Perlmutter point out that such 'I-nominals' pass some but not all tests for subjecthood and, therefore, should not be grouped together with Icelandic 'quirky subjects' positioned in [Spec,vP].

All three of the prior analyses of the Serbo-Croatian involuntary state construction discussed in section 3 below, as well as the alternative analysis I propose in this paper, are based on a radically different view of the dative-marked NP's syntactic function.

### 2.4.2. The clitic pronoun *se*

The clitic pronoun *se* in the involuntary state construction clearly has no (co)referential properties. It cannot refer back to the nominative NP, since (1) does not mean that the walnuts are eating themselves, and it cannot refer to a general human agent either, as (1) does not mean that people in general are involved in the activity of eating. Finally, it cannot refer to the dative experiencer because reflexive pronouns in Serbo-Croatian cannot be bound by dative NPs. This element has therefore previously been analyzed as either a passive morpheme equivalent to the one occurring in the reflexive passive construction in (12), or as an unaccusative morpheme which also occurs in the anticausative (i.e. inchoative) construction (13), in both cases with an undisputable clitic status (see Boskovic, 1995 for argumentation).

- (12) Bicikl se popravlja.  
 bicycle.NOM.SG SE IMPERF.repair.PRS.3.SG  
 'The bicycle is being repaired.'

- (13) Vrata se zatvaraju.  
 door.NOM.PL SE IMP.close.PRS.3.PL  
 'The door is closing (by itself).'

The difference in interpretation between these two sentences is that the reflexive passive in (12) involves a downgraded human agent, while the anticausative construction in (13) is presented as occurring spontaneously. It therefore involves no implied agency, and the subject theme NP is interpreted as being responsible for the predicated situation.

However, the clitic *se* in the involuntary state construction cannot easily be viewed as a passive or unaccusative morpheme since, crucially, (12) and (13) denote events (i.e. the bicycle *is* being repaired and the door *is* closing), while the involuntary state construction denotes a state. This fact has an important consequence. Namely, if the eventive predicate of the involuntary state construction is to be presented as noneventive, and yet contain the same passive or unaccusative morpheme as in (12) or (13), a covert modal or psych-verb must be introduced to derive the construction's noneventive meaning. However, because the introduction of null elements should be avoided, I provide an alternative account of the clitic *se* from which the derivation of the noneventive meaning of the involuntary state construction follows in a straightforward fashion.

### 3.0. PREVIOUSLY PROPOSED ANALYSES

The involuntary state construction occurs in all Slavic languages, although with considerable syntactic and semantic variations (Rivero, 2003). While no account of this construction has been proposed in the literature particular to Serbo-Croatian, unified explanations across Slavic languages have been attempted by Franks (1995), Rivero (2003), and Marusic and Zaucer (2005). These three proposals are reviewed below.

#### 3.1. Monoclausal Analysis Involving PRO Control (Franks, 1995)

Following Schoorlemmer (1991), Franks (1995) speculates that the Slavic involuntary state construction, which he refers to as 'the dispositional reflexive construction', is a passive construction with a null modal verb. This null modal heads a Modal Phrase that is simply added "on top of the standard sentence structure." On this account, the dative experiencer NP is an adjunct merged in [Spec,MP], receiving its theta role and inherent case under lexical government by the null modal. The dative experiencer NP controls the main verb's agent, which is realized as PRO. The PRO agent is referentially dependent on its controller, i.e. it shares phi-features with the dative experiencer NP. The PRO control, together with the null modal that assigns the experiencer theta-role to the dative NP, gives rise to the 'dispositional' meaning (i.e., 'the involuntary desiderative' meaning). Leaving open the precise location and the function of the clitic pronoun *se*, Franks suggests one of the following three syntactic structures (although all three of them present technical issues, as Franks himself notes).

- (14) a. [MP NP<sub>exper</sub> [M [AGR-SP [*se* [IP [T [AGR-OP [AGR-O [VP PRO<sub>agent</sub> [V (NP) ]]]]]]]]]]  
 b. [MP NP<sub>exper</sub> [*se* [AGR-SP [AGR-S [IP [T [AGR-OP [AGR-O [VP PRO<sub>agent</sub> [V (NP) ]]]]]]]]]]  
 c. [MP NP<sub>exper</sub> [*se* [IP [T [AGR-OP [AGR-O [VP PRO<sub>agent</sub> [V (NP) ]]]]]]]]]]

Even though Franks does not provide a complete analysis of the involuntary state construction, he proposes an interesting solution in which PRO control relates the external argument of the null modal with the external argument of the predicate verb. A similar scope of PRO control, combined with an elaborate mechanism of LF operations, is proposed in Rivero (2003).

#### 3.2. Monoclausal Analysis Involving LF Control of Free Variable (Rivero, 2003)

Like Franks, Rivero (2003) also proposes that the non-eventive interpretation of the involuntary state construction derives from a null modal verb. The null modal is hosted by a "new type" of Applicative Phrase which is clause-external and takes a finite TP as its complement. This Applicative Phrase introduces the dative experiencer NP as its external argument. The dative experiencer NP is therefore an applicative adjunct which merges directly in [Spec,AppIP], where it receives its theta role and case lexically from the null modal. On this account, the dative experiencer is similar to a "semantic subject of predication, and not to a syntactic subject, and TP is its semantic predicate" (Rivero, 2003: 12).

The reflexive clitic *se* is analyzed as a passive morpheme. Following Chierchia (1989) and Reinhart (1996), Rivero argues that passivization occurs within the framework of Argument Saturation, a more general argument manipulating operation which takes place in the lexicon. The “passive” *se* is located in T and signals an implicit argument. Example (15) represents the syntactic structure of the involuntary state construction as proposed by Rivero (2003:13).

- (15) [APPLP DATIVE [APPLP<sup>0</sup> APPL<sup>0</sup> [TP REFL V NP<sub>nom</sub>]]]  
Implicit  
argument

Building further on the framework outlined by Chierchia (1989) and Reinhart (1996), Rivero assumes that implicit arguments are existentially closed and thus lack all phi features. This feature makes implicit arguments similar to indefinite pronouns, which also represent existentially quantified arguments and consist of an existential quantifier and a bound variable. In order to derive the involuntary desiderative meaning, Rivero relates the dative experiencer NP to the implicit argument through the following LF mechanism. The dative experiencer NP triggers ‘Existential Disclosure’, a logical operation which deletes the quantifier from the implicit argument, resulting in a free variable. A subsequent logical operation, ‘Dative Closure’, relates the remaining free variable to the dative experiencer NP through a control relationship quite similar to the English obligatory control in *John had the urge PRO to work well*.

Rivero’s proposal is essentially an extension of Frank’s in that it derives the involuntary desiderative meaning from the null modal, which assigns the experiencer theta-role. In addition, the PRO control mechanism is required to relate the experiencer NP and the implied agent which, under Rivero’s account, occurs in conjunction with two specific LF operations.

### 3.3. Biclausal Analysis (Marusic and Zaucer, 2005)

Marusic and Zaucer (2005) propose an analysis of the involuntary state construction that differs radically from both previous analyses in that it argues for a biclausal structure involving a null lexical psych-verb rather than a monoclausal structure with a null modal functional verb. Their analysis is based on Slovenian but pertains to other Slavic languages as well. It is inspired by the perceived parallelism between the involuntary state construction, which they refer to as ‘the FEEL-LIKE construction’ (16), and a similar construction containing an overt psych verb (17).

- (16) Gabru se pleše.  
Gaber.DAT SE IMPERF.dance.PRS.3.SG  
‘Gaber feels like dancing.’ (Marusic and Zaucer, 2005:2)
- (17) Gabru se lústa plesati.  
Gaber.DAT SE desire.PRS.3.SG IMPERF.dance.INF  
‘Gaber feels like dancing.’ (Marusic and Zaucer, 2005:2)

Based on the above observation, Marusic and Zaucer argue that the sentence in (16) has a biclausal structure with a covert matrix psych-predicate. The most compelling evidence for this proposal is the fact that the tense inflection in the FEEL-LIKE construction with the covert psych-verb modifies the ‘involuntary desiderative’ part of the meaning (i.e. the covert FEEL-LIKE predicate in this analysis, or the null modal in the previous two analyses), rather than the overt verb on which it is realized. Thus, the Slovenian example in (18) refers not to a past event of eating but rather to Lina’s past disposition towards its realization (Marusic and Zaucer, 2005). This is also true of the corresponding Serbo-Croatian example in (6).

- (18) Lini se je jedlo cmoke.  
Lina.DAT.FEM SE AUX.PST.3.SG IMPERF.eat.PST.SG.NEU dumplings.ACC.MASC.PL  
‘Lina felt like eating dumplings.’

In the case of Serbo-Croatian (but not Slovenian), the aspectual markers also modify the ‘involuntary desiderative’ part of the meaning rather than the overt verb to which they are attached. Thus example (4), repeated here as (19), does not mean that Mark felt like starting to eat walnuts, but rather that Mark started feeling like eating them.

- (19) Marku      su      se      pri-jeli                      orasi.  
 Mark.DAT    AUX    SE    INCEPT.eat.PST.MASC.PL    walnuts.NOM.MASC.PL  
 ‘Mark started feeling like eating walnuts.’

Considering all the above evidence, Marusic and Zaucer propose that the FEEL-LIKE construction in Serbo-Croatian has a biclausal structure, with a covert FEEL-LIKE psych-verb in the upper-clause VP. The upper-clause VP is dominated by a Quirky Phrase  $vQP$  (following Boeckx, 2003), a projection similar to an Applicative Phrase, which introduces the dative NP in its Spec position, assigns the experiencer theta-role to the NP, and marks it with inherent dative case. Further following Boeckx (2003), Marusic and Zaucer assume that  $vQP$  cannot merge with the  $vCause$ , thus resulting in unaccusativity of the upper clause. This is marked by the “non-active” morpheme *se* located in the head of  $vQP$ .

The lower clause is passive and contains its own “non-active morpheme” *se*, which is located in a non-active  $vP$ . This means that the FEEL-LIKE construction in Serbo-Croatian contains two “non-active” morphemes *se*, one in the upper and one in the lower clause. However, due to haplology only one of those two *se* morphemes is phonologically realized (as part of the second-position clitic cluster). The EPP feature on the upper clause T is checked by a covert expletive (marked as *pro*), which prevents the derivation from crashing. The syntactic structure proposed for the Serbo-Croatian FEEL-LIKE construction is represented in (20).

- (20)  $[_{CP} [_{TP} pro [_{ASPP} [_{vQP} NP_{dat} [_{vQ'} se [_{VP} covert\ FEEL-LIKE [_{vP} [_{v'} se [_{VP} V NP_{nom}]]]]]]]]]$

Marusic and Zaucer support their biclausal analysis involving two *se* morphemes using evidence from a construction that lacks true productivity, the passive version of the Slovenian FEEL-LIKE construction, as shown in (21). They claim that the only morpheme with two possible positions is the passive marker *se*, which suggests that there are two *se* morphemes rather than one.

- (21) Zdele    se    Petru      ful    hocjo                      jest    (?se) jagode.  
 now    SE    Peter.DAT    so    feel-like.3P.PL.FEM    eat.INF    SE    strawberries.FEM.PL.NOM  
 ‘Right now, Peter really feels like eating strawberries.’

Unfortunately, the evidence for the biclausal analysis requires a dubious contrast between the dual-*se* passive in (21), which Marusic and Zaucer admit is “not to be taken as good” but argue is nonetheless still better than the fully unacceptable active version in (22).

- (22) Zdele    se    Petru      ful    hocjo                      jest    (\*se) jagode.  
 now    SE    Peter.DAT    so    feel-like.3P.SG.NEU    eat.INF    SE    strawberries.FEM.PL.ACC  
 ‘Right now, Peter really feels like eating strawberries.’

While I make no judgment on the validity of the biclausal analysis for Slovenian, it is clear that this analysis is unsatisfactory for Serbo-Croatian, since the availability of the two *se* positions cannot be replicated for Serbo-Croatian. Consequently, at least for Serbo-Croatian, the biclausal double *se* structure proposed in (20) must be viewed as a mere speculation. Since the unaccusativity of the upper clause and the passiveness of the lower clause depend entirely on the presence of the non-active morpheme *se*, its unavailability in either clause would result in a derivation crash.

#### 4.0. EVIDENCE AGAINST PREVIOUSLY PROPOSED ANALYSES

In this section I address an interesting issue which concerns all three analyses presented above. Namely, in all of them the dative experiencer NP is treated as a base-generated element which does not undergo subsequent raising. For Franks (1995) and Rivero (2003), the dative experiencer is a special kind of adjunct merged as the external argument of the null modal functional verb as part of a TP-external projection. For



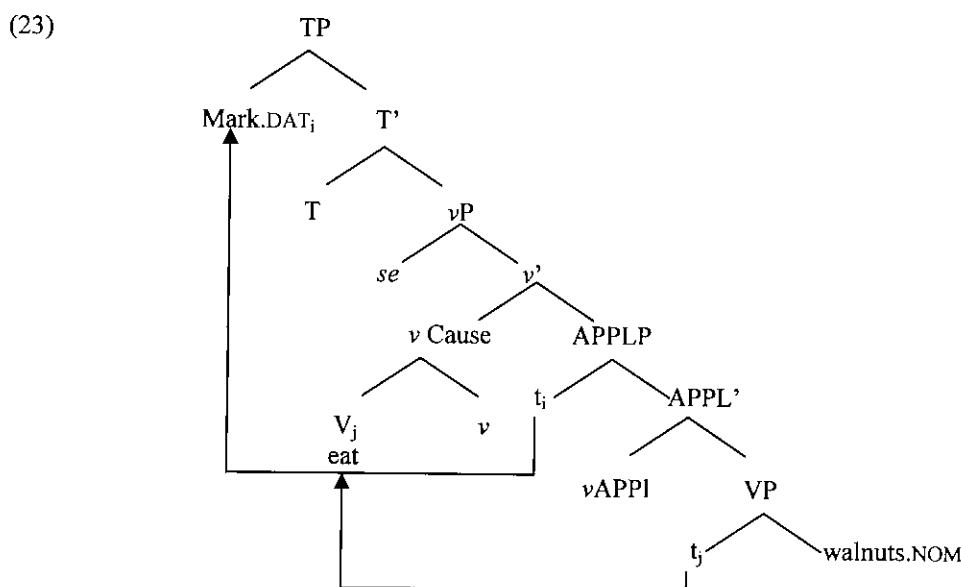
Marusic and Zaucer (2005), it is a logical subject merged in Spec of the Quirky Phrase  $vQP$ , while a covert expletive in the upper [Spec, TP] checks the EPP feature on T. In order to evaluate validity of such a treatment of the dative experiencer NP, I applied six diagnostic subjecthood tests to dative experiencer NP, as well as the nominative theme NP, both of which can occur sentence-initially, as shown previously in (7) and (8). My reasoning was as follows. If their syntactic behavior when occurring in that position patterns with the syntactic behavior of canonical subjects, which by a widely accepted assumption occur in [Spec, TP] and check the EPP feature on T, we have to conclude that *both* dative *and* the nominative NP can occur in Spec of T and check its EPP feature. If so, then the dative experiencer NP is a raised, rather than a base-generated constituent, and the analyses postulating null modal verb presented in section 3. automatically become questionable.

Indeed, these predictions were confirmed by the results of the diagnostic tests (available in the Appendix), which show that both dative and the nominative NP exhibit a high degree of subject-like behavior when occurring in the sentence-initial position. Such syntactic behavior suggests an analysis under which *either* NP can raise to [Spec, TP] and check the EPP feature on T when not bearing sentence focus, as well as a solution that will not derive noneventiveness of the involuntary state construction from a null element. With these insights in mind, I now present an alternative account of the involuntary state construction in Serbo-Croatian.

## 5.0. PROPOSAL

### 5.1. Overview

The involuntary state construction in Serbo-Croatian is better understood as an applicative construction with the clitic pronoun *se* in the [Spec,  $vP$ ] position. In contrast to Franks and Rivero, but following Marantz (1993), McGinnis (2001) and Pylkkänen (2000), I argue for a traditional Applicative Phrase which merges  $vP$ -internally and takes the whole VP as its complement. Although the clitic *se* resembles an expletive pronoun, it also exhibits unique properties that allow it to interact with the proposed applicative structure, thus resulting in the involuntary desiderative meaning. In anticipation of further discussion below, the proposed structure is illustrated in (23).



### 5.2. The Underspecified Clitic Pronoun *se*: properties and function

The key element of the analysis proposed in this section is the clitic pronoun *se*, which I claim has undergone a historical process of semantic bleaching that resulted in underspecification of its feature [HUMAN]. I will argue that, in contrast to the clitic pronoun *se* in (24), which refers to a general human agent, and the clitic pronoun *se* in (25), which refers to a more specific human agent, 'the underspecified *se*' in the involuntary state construction cannot refer to any potent (prototypically human) event-instigator.

- (24) Leti                    se        nose                    sandale.  
 In-the-summer SE wear. PRS.3.PL sandals.NOM.PL  
 'In the summertime people (one) wear sandals.'
- (25) Bicikl                    se        popravlja                    (kod        majstora).  
 bicycle.NOM.SG SE IMPERF.repair.PRS.3.SG (at        mechanic's)  
 'The bicycle is being repaired (at the mechanic's/by the mechanic).'

This property of 'the underspecified *se*' affects the inherent aspectual value of the predicated event in the following fashion. Similar to an expletive pronoun, the underspecified *se* formally retains its pronominal character and therefore still functions as a possible candidate for the EPP feature checking. However, unlike expletives such as *there* and *it*, that typically merge in the [Spec, TP] position, I argue that the underspecified *se* merges as the external argument of *vP*, where it receives agentive interpretation (following UTAH).<sup>2</sup> Crucially, however, since the underspecified *se* cannot refer to a volitional human agent, the predicated event cannot be instigated, and therefore remains noneventive. This assumption is the triggering component in the derivation of the involuntary desiderative interpretation, as I will argue below.

### 5.3. Evidence for the External Argument of *vCause*

The analysis outlined in the previous two sections is diametrically opposed to the idea that the clitic *se* is a passive morpheme (Rivero, 2003) or a general "non-active" morpheme (Marusic and Zaucer, 2005). If this analysis is on the right track, we should be able to find evidence for the syntactic existence of the [Spec, *vP*] position. Indeed, the fact that the involuntary state construction occurs only with eventive agentive verbs provides the necessary evidence. Nonagentive verbs, i.e. stative and unaccusative verbs, can occur in this construction only if construed as agentive, as shown in (26) and (27).

- (26) Marku        se ne        poznaje                    taj        kreten.  
 Mark.DAT SE not IMPERF.know.PRS.3.SG that idiot.NOM.SG  
 'Mark doesn't feel like knowing that idiot.'
- (27) Marku        se        umire                    od        muke.  
 Mark.DAT SE die.PRS.3.SG from desperation  
 'Mark feels like dying from desperation.'

General incompatibility of the involuntary state construction with stative verbs shows that we are not dealing with a passive construction, since passivization of stative verbs occurs naturally, as shown in (28).

- (28) Taj        kreten                    je dobro        znan                    svima.  
 that idiot.NOM.MASC.SG is well known NOM.MASC.SG to-everyone  
 'That idiot is well known to everyone.'

The fact that the unaccusative verbs may occur in the involuntary state construction if agentivized also additionally argues against passive analysis of this construction, since passivization of unaccusative verbs in Serbo-Croatian is, as expected, not possible (29).

- (29) \*Marko        je umren                    od        bolesti.  
 Mark.NOM is die.NOM.MASC.SG from disease  
 'Mark is died from the disease.'

The above examples suggest that the underspecified clitic *se* introduces, rather than eliminates, the external argument of *vCause*, thus making it active but noneventive, rather than passive. Since we have already argued against the existence of a null modal verb, we have to conclude that this noneventiveness comes from the semantic content of *se* which is underspecified to such an extent that it no longer can refer to a possible agent, event-instigator. With respect to the overall meaning of the construction, this equals to saying that the external argument of *vCause* is semantically suppressed. Consequently, the predicated event loses its eventive aspectual value and becomes noneventive.

Similar claims that predicates can have light causative verbs  $\nu$ Cause without having external arguments have been put forward by Baker and Stewart (1999) as well as Pylkkänen (1999, 2002). Building on Pylkkänen's insights, below I present cross-linguistic evidence supporting my analysis of the involuntary state construction as outlined in sections 5.1., 5.2 and 5.3. This evidence addresses the Finnish desiderative causative construction (Pylkkänen, 1999), which bears striking similarities to the involuntary state construction in Serbo-Croatian.

#### 5.4. $\nu$ CAUSE without External Argument in Finnish Desiderative Causatives

Similar to the Serbo-Croatian involuntary state construction, the desiderative causative construction in Finnish expresses that "x feels like V-ing," as shown in (30).

- (30) Maija-a                laula-tt-a.  
       Maija.PAR        sing.CAUSE.3.SG  
       'Maija feels like singing.'

(Pylkkänen, 1999: 16)

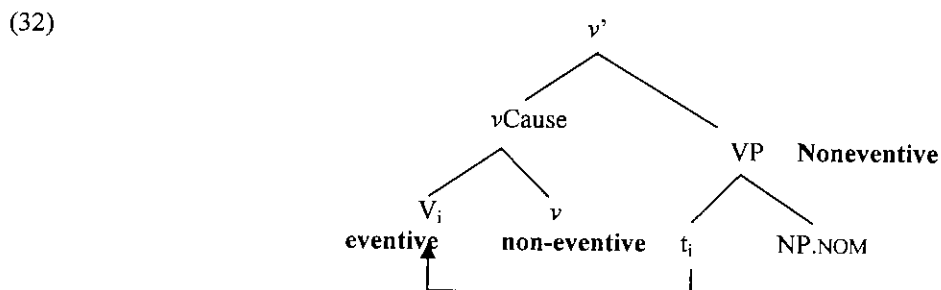
Since only unergative verbs license the desiderative causative in Finnish, I will compare them with the corresponding Serbo-Croatian example of the involuntary state construction in (3), repeated here as (31).

- (31) Marku        se        peva.  
       Mark.DAT    SE        IMPERF.sing.PRS.3.SG  
       'Mark feels like singing.'

Both the Finnish desiderative causative and the Serbo-Croatian involuntary state construction occur with a derived subject bearing an oblique case. Furthermore, both constructions are able to assign noneventive interpretations to eventive verbs. Finally, both express an involuntary desiderative meaning. More importantly, for the present discussion, both constructions involve the light causative verb  $\nu$ Cause, which has an external argument that is either semantically suppressed (Serbo-Croatian) or altogether missing (Finnish, as demonstrated in Pylkkänen, 1999: 172-173). The result is a noneventive, i.e. stative  $\nu$ Cause.

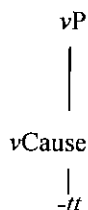
#### 5.5. Derivation of Non-Eventive Meaning

Under the analysis presented above, the noneventive meaning in both Finnish and Serbo-Croatian constructions arises when an eventive VP predicate that requires an agent-instigator adjoins a noneventive  $\nu$ Cause with no potent external argument available. This aspectual modification occurs at the  $\nu$ P level and, therefore, affects the verb's *inherent* aspectual properties. This is represented in (32).

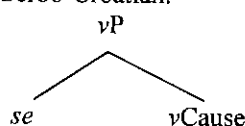


However, even though the general strategies applied in the Finnish desiderative causative and the Serbo-Croatian involuntary state construction are the same, the specific mechanisms used to present the causative structure independently of its external argument depend on the parameters of the language. Thus, Finnish *adds* the causative head to the derivation, without adding the external argument. This is represented overtly by the causative morpheme *-tt* (see Pylkkänen, 1999 for evidence that the Finnish desiderative causative is stative rather than eventive). On the other hand, Serbo-Croatian, lacking the overt causative morpheme, instead employs the underspecified pronoun *se* to semantically suppress the external argument of  $\nu$ Cause. Despite these parametric differences, the end-result in both languages is the same, namely lack of the external argument. The cross-linguistic variation is represented in (33) and (34).

(33) Finnish:



(34) Serbo-Croatian:



...

### 5.6. Derivation of the Involuntary Desiderative Meaning

The involuntary desiderative meaning of the Serbo-Croatian involuntary state construction follows naturally from the applicative structure, framing the dative experiencer NP as the extra argument of the noneventive predicate containing an eventive verb. This, I claim, is the source of the involuntary desiderative meaning. Thus, the involuntary state construction in (1) can be paraphrased as 'Mark is experiencing a state of eating walnuts', while the active eventive construction in (2) can be paraphrased as 'Mark is instigating the event of eating walnuts.' The English translation, using the overt psych-phrase *feel like*, is therefore only the closest approximation of the meaning of the involuntary state construction, which I claim has no such overt element. Under this analysis, the involuntary desiderative meaning derives compositionally, without recourse to additional null elements, when an extra argument (i.e. the dative NP) is added to the syntactic structure in (32).

### 5.7. Tense and Aspectual Modification of $vCause$ : Evidence for a Noneventive $vP$

The idea that the involuntary state construction takes an eventive verb and presents it as noneventive explains why tense and the inceptive aspectual markers cannot modify the main verb to which they are attached. Marusic and Zaucer (2005) were the first to point out this peculiarity, though they incorrectly deduced the existence of a covert FEEL-LIKE verb.

## 6.0. CONCLUSION

The Serbo-Croatian involuntary state construction posits many challenges for syntactic analysis. Its involuntary desiderative meaning does not seem to follow from its morphosyntactic composition, which is why it is hardly surprising that previously attempted analyses require null desiderative constituents. However, this option is not theoretically appealing, especially if the proposed null constituent is a new functional category which is otherwise entirely unmotivated. Equally undesirable are analyses involving biclausal structures with covert desiderative verbs, which introduce unnecessary structural complexity.

Ideally, then, we should derive the involuntary desiderative meaning cross-linguistically through overt syntax. Such an approach is more informative, as it forces us to use existing theoretical resources to deepen our understanding of the nature of  $vCause$ , lexical aspect, causativization and passivization. Allowing  $vCause$  to occur with a suppressed external argument provides a means for aspectual modification of the predicate at the  $vP$  level, independently of the lexical aspect of the verb. This option is utilized in the involuntary state construction, in which lexically eventive verbs are presented as noneventive through the semantic suppression of their external arguments.

Nonetheless, it is likely that semantic suppression of an external argument is not the only way that aspectual properties of  $vCAUSE$  may be modified. If so, then this analysis could conceivably be extended to explain the intriguing interactions between the occurrence of the clitic pronoun *se* and the aspectual values of predicate verbs in other constructions, such as the impersonal reflexive, the reflexive passive, and the so-called

inchoative construction. Under the view proposed in this paper, the aspectual properties of the VP follow naturally from the properties of the clitic pronoun *se*. Thus, an areal explanation could potentially be obtained for all Slavic constructions displaying the clitic pronoun *se* in the [Spec,vP] position. Such an approach would allow for theoretical generalization across a variety of challenging interactions in Slavic syntax.

## NOTES

1. Sentence level topics occur naturally in the sentence-initial position, and are therefore different from topicalized elements, which are typically analyzed as occurring in [Spec, CP].
2. Clitic pronouns in Serbo-Croatian cannot occur sentence-initially and therefore can only check EPP feature on vCause.
3. Independent evidence for a stative vCause, focusing on English psych-verbs, is provided in Grimshaw (1990) and Pesetsky (1995). Pytkänen (1999) provides evidence for Finnish psych-verbs, which are morphologically causative but exhibit aspectual properties of stative verbs.

## APPENDIX

Diagnostic subjecthood tests used in this paper include six syntactic behaviors typically observed in Serbo-Croatian subjects. In order to create a baseline for comparison, the same tests were also applied to canonical subjects, as well as fronted direct and indirect objects. All tested NPs were tested in sentence-initial positions, so as to hold all discourse effects constant.

Table 1: Subjecthood Properties of the Dative Experiencer NP and the Nominative Theme NP of the Involuntary State Construction, in Comparison with the Subjecthood Properties of the Baseline Constituents.

Diagnostic subjecthood tests	Test NPs		Baseline		
	Dative NP	Fronted Nominative NP	Canonical Subject	Fronted IO	Fronted DO
Reflexivization	no	yes	yes	no	no
PRO control gerund	yes	yes	yes	no	no
PRO control infinitive	yes	no	yes	no	no
Deletion under coordination with subject	no	yes	yes	no	no
Deletion under coordination with the test NP	yes	yes	yes	no	no?
Subject-to-subject Raising	yes	yes	yes	no	no

## ABBREVIATIONS

COMPL.	completive
IMPERF.	imperfective
INCEPT.	inceptive
PERF.	perfective

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# ORGANIZING PRINCIPLES IN LANGUAGE DOCUMENTATION

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## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this article is to contribute to the dialogue concerning the issues faced by workers in language documentation. The field must be organized and language workers provided with the opportunity to share resources and concentrate their efforts. Various criteria are presented to define an ideal organization in support of linguistic fieldwork. Some important institutions in this field are evaluated on these guidelines. We investigate the funding sources, methodology, and products of these organizations, showing the deficiencies that exist. We illustrate a need for and propose the establishment of a new, comprehensive organization to support language documentation.

## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

The intent of this article is to start a dialogue concerning the establishment of a new organization in the field of language documentation and conservation. That the world will lose an enormous number of languages in the very near future is unavoidable. There are two principle reasons why this fact has recently caused such a flurry of activity. The first and most tangible concern will not be discussed in this article, that being people who lose their heritage languages lose a fundamental connection with their past and their culture. The second factor concerns this loss as it relates to academics; not only language specialists, but anyone interested in history, anthropology, or cognition. For linguists, however, the trend is particularly ominous. Our work is concerned with the incredible variety and intricacy of human language. If we are left with just those imperfect records of the relatively few languages that have been extensively scientifically documented, our world will have shrunk to what we already know, and that sad situation is not conducive to empirical science.

There is an immense amount of work to be done. Since there are simply not enough trained linguists to adequately document dying languages in the time frame available to us, efficiency will be a crucial factor in our success. There are many organizations in existence that support linguistic fieldwork. The work of these bodies is phenomenal, but the coherence and guidance that such urgent and complex endeavors require may be lacking.

The field of language documentation is at a distinct disadvantage when compared to other, better established subfields of Linguistics. Among others, one fundamental problem which must be addressed is the professional motivation of linguists to pursue such research, as described by Lehmann (2001).

...Even descriptive linguistic work has limited prestige because it is subordinate to explanatory theoretical work. Collection of data, however, has no prestige at all. It is the lowest step in a hierarchy, a step that one seeks to leave behind as soon as possible and that one skips more often than not (Lehmann 2001, p.2).

We suggest that a new organization is needed to unite language documenters and conservationists, complementing and improving what is already in existence. Our description of this organization may be viewed as a template for the improvement and expansion of present institutions, or to be created outright in a new one. We have identified some central objectives that such an ideal body would be organized around. These criteria will be outlined and justified in the first portion of this article. In the following section, they will be used as a basis on which to evaluate a few of the existing organizations in language documentation.

## 2.0. SOME CRITERIA FOR ORGANIZATIONS IN LANGUAGE DOCUMENTATION

### 2.1. Primacy of Scientific Needs

First and foremost, there must be an organization by and for linguists, with scientific research as the main priority. Language documentation work must not be the byproduct of any other activity. It will not be the result of specific theory-driven inquiry or short term research for doctoral theses, but comprehensive, ambitious projects with consistent staffing and funding.

Linguistic theory is entirely dependent on new data. Testing theory against replicable language data is the only way to evaluate what we think we know, which is continually evolving based on new information and

discovery. This resource is becoming steadily and irrevocably inaccessible. Every effort must be made to preserve language data for posterity and future study, as we simply cannot spare the time to fully process it all as it is compiled. The ugly word 'preserve' was used here intentionally because tragically, often the only tenable goal is to record everything we can while our access remains.

Since documentation is the one goal that is uncontroversial in this field, it must be seen as the central purpose of the organization. Other goals must be secondary. This is not to downplay the importance of these goals, which are generally aligned with the interests of linguistic fieldworkers and language maintenance programs. However, there is a certain amount of controversy concerning language policy and revitalization efforts, and these must be secondary to documentation itself. It should also be understood that other, more controversial objectives, such as Bible translation, have no place in a scientific institution.

## **2.2. Focus on Language Community Needs**

The bigger, best funded organizations tend to agree with us on Point 2.1. Unfortunately, this does mean that the needs of language communities are sometimes not quite the priority they should be. Our organization should contain in its structure some means by which endangered and minority language community members will have a voice in what goes on. We will be well informed of what we as linguists can produce to serve the interests of the people who speak these languages. The type of materials we create in the language documentation process should be informed by the input of the people they may personally affect. The organization must be developed in such a way that the needs of endangered and minority language communities play a meaningful role in priority assessment and material production.

The reputation of the organization will depend on how it is evaluated by both the scientific community and the language groups with which it operates. There must be a focus on protecting the integrity and cooperative nature of the organization, which will play a crucial role in securing both funding and access to language communities.

Here arises the issue of language conservation. For scientists, the primary concern is this: it is impossible to preserve a language in its entirety. Regardless of the amount of time, effort, and resources available to be devoted to a documentation project, there will always remain untold amounts of information gaps that will be lost forever if the speakers are gone. From the linguistic point of view, conservation may be seen as being just as vital as documentation. It is a safe assumption that virtually all linguists working in language documentation cherish the goal of conservation, regardless of their opinions on the viability of the prospect.

However, the reality is that language maintenance and revitalization is, for many people, highly controversial. Language shift is a very powerful trend to reverse, which is why this priority will have to remain secondary to scientific goals, which may be expected to have the full and enthusiastic support of everyone involved.

## **2.3. Status as a Non-Governmental Organization**

The organization must have status as a Non-Governmental Organization, with as little political and cultural affiliation as possible. Scientific objectives are to collect and process information, which precludes activities meant to intentionally induce change in the subject language communities. This should be a fundamental principle common to all research endeavors, but it bears articulation here. The organization and the workers associated with it should not together represent any one political system or party, and should in fact strive to avoid being associated with any one cultural orientation, particularly in such a controversial area as religion.

This is not to take as a goal utter non-interference with language communities. It is widely understood that the very act of language documentation may very well affect a linguistic landscape to some degree, especially politically. By and large, this may be a positive change, empowering people to see their own languages as worthy of study and publication, especially in the cases of standardization and dictionary writing. But we must not enter into linguistic projects with ulterior motives such as social or religious change. On the contrary, we must avoid such associations at all costs. Scrupulously maintaining the reputation of a scientific body will protect our access to language communities which may well be mistrustful of outsiders, especially ones bearing tape recorders.



#### 2.4. Establishment of Centralized Fundraising for Research Projects

One aspect of fieldwork that plagues researchers is the time consuming and ponderous task of securing funding. The linguist must tailor his or her project to suit the desires of the funding agencies, instead of developing priorities based on scientific analysis. The projects funded by the organization will be able to have reasonable, long-term objectives. A centralized repository of funds will streamline the process and enable those best informed about the tasks at hand to make executive decisions. Further, a body with reliable funding will provide linguists with employment which consists entirely of language documentation work, freeing them from the traditional constraints of academia. There is far too much work to be done to force potential fieldworkers to fight over the opportunity to teach the skills that they would rather be putting to use. Linguists wishing to dedicate themselves to fieldwork will be able to do so without committing a large percentage of their time to university employment, which traditionally has been the principle method of conducting scholarly research. Other professional issues can severely hinder the publication process, such as authorship. Hinton and Weigel (2002) describe some complications which arise from the conflict between linguists' professional interests and those of language communities.

Publication is the lifeblood of an academic career... The professional reputation of the linguist (as he or she sees it) is pitted against insistence on ownership of the language by the tribal membership (as they see it). Publication is the hardest part of the relationship between a linguist and a tribe. (Hinton & Weigel 2002, p.168-9).

#### 2.5. Establishment of Code of Ethics

The organization must maintain a code of ethics. There will be guidelines of conduct established with the purpose of directing those workers involved in language documentation activities. The process of contacting and working with language communities can be very delicate to say the least, and there are certainly right and wrong ways of conducting these activities. A code of ethics is quite common among the bigger existing organizations, and of course should be included and followed in this one. We would expect it to stress both a high standard of scholarly work and accommodation of the needs of the communities we work with. Of course, it must also be prohibited to engage in activities designed to effect change in these populations, other than what we in the field can do to support the status of local languages and communities.

#### 2.6. Organization of Linguistic Resources for Language Workers and Students

The organization will provide for the general needs of linguists and everyone involved in language documentation. An enormous amount of background research goes into preparation for linguistic fieldwork. Workers must learn everything they can about the groups of people involved with the language or language family: the culture, the local political, social, and religious situations, and especially the history. It is also absolutely crucial to have access to all of the materials ever produced on the language(s), and all information available concerning the individuals and organizations that produced it.

...in the case of an endangered language, we do not have the lifetime of a linguist at our disposal. The language can die out within a few years. A responsible planning of the work, with a feasible sequencing of the necessary steps, therefore becomes of the utmost importance. (Lehmann 2004, p.2)

This information should be aggressively compiled to be made available to future researchers in an online database. It is not presently feasible to convert this material entirely to an electronic medium. A good starting point for that goal is to locate it: to link up libraries, specialized librarians, and institutional archives of all kinds, including academic, religious, and historical bodies.

There is also a need for the establishment of some criteria for evaluating the quality of existing work. As we all know, not everyone who has contributed to the field did so in the same manner or from the same perspective. The organization should make it possible for linguists and others to systematically assess work as they do their background research. Certain standards may be imposed on such work, and those reviews and summaries may be collected and organized for easy access.

Also, there must be some agreement about the evaluation of language endangerment status, which will be defined by the organization. Traditionally and currently, researchers tend to choose their areas of interest, and work on whatever is most convenient. While there is a great deal of practical sense and merit in that method,

linguists do need a way to establish high priority for the most urgent and viable projects, given limited resources. We would like to see such a discussion published in an easily accessible, electronic journal which will also address such issues as methodology, philosophy, and progress.

Different organizations have developed a staggering array of language work-related technology, much of which is accessible to linguists in general. However, it can be disparate and complicated, and researchers may very well have a difficult time choosing what to invest their time in, as far as initial and ongoing training and equipment. We suggest a centralized repository for this kind of information, which will provide easier access and comparison. It should also be the responsibility of the organization to conduct workshops on these materials and maintain a forum where people can share their knowledge and training.

## **2.7. Creation of a Network of People Involved in Language-Related Work**

This aspect is distinct from language resources. This would be a network of non-linguists who can provide crucial assistance in work in both documentation and conservation. Researchers rely on the aid of experts in a multitude of areas in order to gain access to and understand linguistic information. Anthropologists, geographers, historians, local contacts, biologists, and others contribute considerably to linguistic research and should be treated as an organized resource.

Linguists are not necessarily trained in language planning. Language maintenance and revitalization efforts require the expertise of people who specialize in teaching material production, teacher training, and issues concerning social and economic development.

## **2.8. Coordination of Linguistic Training for Speakers of Target Languages**

This is an aspect of language documentation that is just beginning to be developed and offered in a very small way, as will be discussed in Section 3. Let us not forget, a language is nothing without its speakers. It simply does not exist outside their shared experience. This information is only accessible to a truly proficient speaker, and not extractable beyond basic concepts and structures. Therefore, the best qualified people to conduct research and document languages may well be the individuals who control them. We would do well to work on the best methods of obtaining for these people the training in linguistic science that will equip them to do it. Of course, this is a very tall order. Practically speaking, even a four year degree in Linguistics is not sufficient training to conduct quality documentation work. However, the organization should develop methods to involve native speakers of subject languages in a more active way. It should also again be noted that there are not enough of linguists to get this work done, and we should make every effort to share the load.

While not divorcing data collection from analysis, it may be desirable to develop such activities as a role for native speakers in language documentation. Lehmann (2001) defines language documentation as comprised of two distinct activities.

Documentation of a language is an activity (and, derivatively, its result) that gathers, processes, and exhibits an example of data of the language that is representative of its linguistic structure and gives a fair impression of how and for what purposes the language is used. Its aim is to represent the language for those who do not have access to the language itself. Description of a language is an activity (and, derivatively, its result) that formulates, in the most general way possible, the patterns underlying the linguistic data. Its aim is to make the user of the description understand the way the language works (Lehmann 2001, p.1).

We suggest that native speaker training be included in the central aims of the organization, as this practice has great potential for contribution to the field. In his discussion of documentary and descriptive linguistics, Himmelman (1998) includes discussion of language documentation activities as a separate field of Linguistics. He describes language documentation as being centered around corpus creation, which we feel would be an ideal activity for native speakers.

“A somewhat... radical proposal is that language documentation be conceived of as a fairly independent field of linguistic inquiry that is no longer linked exclusively to the descriptive framework. In this view, language documentation may be characterized as radically expanded text collection” (Himmelman 1998, p. 165).

It seems appropriate that this division of labor could serve as a basis for defining native speaker participation in linguistic research.

We would like to suggest here that documentary Linguistics could benefit from a change or flexibility in methodology. The idea that outside experts are the only individuals capable of processing this information is an ethnocentric remnant of traditional practices in imperial contexts. In fact, we as linguists have an obligation to share the training we have enjoyed with those who may also be able to put it to good, if not better use.

### **2.9. US Based**

This really is not a criterion per se, but we would like to see a new institution formed that would be based in the United States. Most of the better-established organizations in language documentation are European. As will be illustrated shortly, of the bigger language documentation organizations, only one is based in the United States. For American linguists, employment through foreign based organizations can be tricky, if not disruptive to their work. Not less importantly, there simply are not enough positions even in the European institutions available to all the people that should be already busy getting this work done. Also, it is widely recognized that American universities enjoy a leading role in academic Linguistics. It would be appropriate to have relevant non-scholastic institutions developed in this country as well.

The creation of a new US based institution in language documentation may be beneficial in another way. If successful, it would be another powerful symbol of hope for language communities in general, especially Native American groups. The organization may serve as an example or facilitator for other language related institutions to develop and expand. Ken Hale has pointed out that currently, such institutions would fill quite a large void.

“In the United States there are no institutions in which speakers of Native American languages, on the basis of authoritative knowledge of those languages alone, can obtain secure tenured positions which would enable them to pursue life-long careers studying and teaching their native languages” (Hale 1992, p.3).

### **2.10. Summary**

The preceding pages outlined some general needs of linguists working in language documentation. They were defined and justified, and presented as important components of an ideal organization to support these workers. In the following section, these criteria serve as the basis for the evaluation of some of the existing organizations in language documentation. In this way, the existing organizations are shown to be lacking in various areas. Our suggestion is that this template may be used to identify deficiencies and create bodies to fulfill those needs, whether those new bodies be additions to existing institutions or altogether new creations. It should be understood that any new institution would be designed with the purpose of acting in coordination with the organizations that do exist, not to supplant them. There is, unfortunately, a great deal of room for development and work to be done.

## **3.0. SOME ORGANIZATIONS**

We will briefly examine some of the largest and the most visible organizations in language documentation and how they relate to the documentary needs previously outlined:

1. Primacy of Scientific Needs
2. Focus on Language Community Needs
3. Non-Governmental Organization Status
4. Centralized Repository of Funds
5. Code of Ethics
6. Organization of Linguistic Resources
7. Network of Language-Related Workers
8. Coordination of Linguistic Training
9. US-Based

These bodies are the United Nations Educational and Scientific Organization (UNESCO), the Endangered Language Programme at University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), the DoBes project, and the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL). These organizations exemplify the institutional response to language endangerment. Many other organizations exist that share a common commitment to the preservation of languages and minority cultures. We have chosen these organizations based on their size and international vision, as they have taken steps toward establishing the field of language documentation and have brought visibility to the issues concerning minority languages in the age of globalism.

#### **4.0. THE UNITED NATIONS SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION**

UNESCO as an organization emerged from the context of World War II in a UN conference called the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education (CAME). Its primary purpose was to create an educational and cultural organization that would reestablish educational systems destroyed during the war. (UNESCO, 2006). This was the original mission ambitiously defined in its constitution. Since then UNESCO has become a highly visible promoter of cultural, educational and scientific research, and has served an important agent in the mobilization of international support for the development of policies that concern education and cultural rights.

##### **4.1. UNESCO Activities**

Prior to the Universal Declaration of Linguistic rights in 1996, UNESCO encouraged the creation of the *Red Book of Endangered Languages*. Following the compilation of that work, the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity was established in 2001, making cultural diversity and linguistic diversity a part of our intangible human heritage (UNESCO, 2006). In 2003, UNESCO convened a meeting of language experts to produce "Language Vitality and Endangerment" which made recommendations concerning the evaluation of language endangerment (UNESCO, 2006). This remains one of the only metrics that attempt to define language endangerment.

UNESCO has defined its role in its endangered language programme as 1) promoting the importance of linguistic diversity, 2) local and regional capacity building through developing policy tools via the Management of Social Transformations Program (MOST), and 3) Mobilization of cooperation through congresses and Linguapax, et al. (UNESCO, 2006). There is some overlap in UNESCO programs such as the MOST and Linguapax.

It is difficult to assess the effectiveness of the previously mentioned declarations. The *Red Book of Endangered Languages* remains incomplete. Stephen Wurm has continued some of this work through UNESCO's Japan Trust fund for endangered languages with the 1996 publication of the *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger of Disappearing* (Wurm, 2006). Perhaps the most important contributions of UNESCO are its role as a supporter of cultural and linguistic diversity and its ability to mobilize experts in order to produce documents that can serve as guidelines for researchers interested in linguistic diversity and promoting the ideal of cultural plurality.

##### **4.2. UNESCO and our Criteria**

###### **4.2.1. Criteria met**

As a specialized agency of the United Nations, UNESCO is beholden to the governments of individual nations. It manages funding for publications, conferences, congresses, and local documentation projects. UNESCO organizes linguistic resources through its programs. It connects a vast network of language-related workers, especially specialists in educational, social, and economic development.

###### **4.2.2. Criteria not met**

Although UNESCO conducts scientific research to inform its policies, it is not an organization dedicated primarily to language documentation. It contributes a great deal to language research, but does not exist in support of linguists in the way that was previously outlined.

As an international policy making institution, UNESCO cannot effect its policies in sovereign territories. It provides a forum for the articulation of the needs of small communities, but has no actual power to meet these needs within the jurisdiction of individual states. This situation is different from a language documentation project context, where immediate local needs are present and can be negotiated between researchers and language

community members. Likewise, UNESCO maintains recommendations for researcher conduct, but these declarations have not prevented partnership with partisan and religious organizations. This organization also does not provide native speakers of endangered languages with linguistic training.

## **5.0 THE ENDANGERED LANGUAGE PROGRAMME (SOAS)**

In 2002, the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London received a \$27,000,000 grant from the Lisbet Rausing Charitable Fund (Planet SOAS, 2002, p.1). The purpose of this endowment is:

1. Train new generations of linguists to research and develop work that opens up new fields of study.
2. Provide opportunities for fieldworkers, academics, students, collaborative ventures, and international organizations to work together with endangered language communities, ensuring that everything possible is done to record and encourage linguistic, cultural and human diversity.
3. Award approximately \$1 million per year in research grants to high quality projects
4. Set up an innovative, comprehensive endangered languages archive as a leading international academic resource.
5. Endeavor to raise as much additional funds as possible to build the scale, scope and effectiveness of our work. (SOAS)

### **5.1. SOAS Activities**

The institution resulting from this grant is the Hans Rausing Endangered Language Program. This is divided into three parts: 1) the Endangered Language Documentation Program (ELDP), which is the finding source for documentation projects, 2) the Endangered Language Academic Program (ELAP) in documentary and field Linguistics, and 3) the Endangered Language Archive Repository (ELAR), which archives and disseminates language metadata.

The program is still new and so far quite successful in providing language documenters with academic training, funding, and archiving resources. As their archive grows, they will also be a focal point for linguistic research.

### **5.2. SOAS and our Criteria**

#### **5.2.1. Criteria met**

The goal of SOAS is to preserve and archive language data in the most complete manner possible, making language documentation its primary activity. SOAS is an enormous center for linguistic research, providing a hub for language documentation workers and maintaining linguistic resources and relationships with other academic fields.

#### **5.2.2. Criteria not met**

Because SOAS is an academic institution, it is unclear how much input language communities have in determining some of the direction this research takes, and it does not have non-governmental organization status. There is no program for native speaker training, and no well-established code of ethics.

## **6. 0. DOKUMENTATION BEDROHTER SPRACHEN (DOBES)**

DoBes was founded in 2001 by the Volkswagen Foundation. It is advised by the Department of Psycholinguistics at the Max Plank Institute. Their two main purposes in language documentation are these: to maintain or revitalize endangered languages, and to inform future generations about the language diversity and the cultural treasures of mankind (DoBes, 2006).

### **6.1. DoBes Activities**

The DoBes methodology is to provide text and video documentation of endangered languages and minority language communities. DoBes produces software and attempts to integrate state-of-the-art technology into the documentation process. DoBes also has a repository for language metadata. Currently, they have 30 language documentation projects and the results of these projects are public domain.

## **6.2. DoBes and our Criteria**

### **6.2.1. Criteria met**

DoBes meets nearly all the criteria previously outlined, being an organization specifically for scientific research. It is an outstanding NGO in that they make the archived data public domain. They have also developed an exemplary code of ethics for their linguistic fieldworkers. DoBes coordinates linguistic resources through conferences and workshops, and its interdisciplinary research teams include nonlinguists as researchers.

### **6.2.2. Criteria not met**

DoBes accommodates language community needs in the research process, but does not include an internal structure which involves community members at a high level in the decision making process. It also does not provide linguistic training to native speakers.

## **7.0. THE SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS (SIL)**

SIL describes itself as “a faith based scientific non-profit educational organization committed to studying lesser known languages of the world,” (SIL, 2006). It is an international organization with field offices all over the world. Started as a training program to study Native American languages in Mexico, its primary goal is the support of Bible translation into the local languages of the world. The organization is tightly linked to other Christian organizations. Fieldworkers rely primarily on churches and congregations for research funding.

### **7.1. SIL Activities**

SIL has made enormous contributions to language documentation and linguistic fieldwork. SIL houses Ethnologue, the most comprehensive online database of world languages. The organization develops excellent software and utilities specifically designed for documenting languages. SIL workers have published prolifically on their research and their scholarship remains strong in such fields as vernacular education, cultural anthropology, literacy development, and ethnography.

## **7.2. SIL and Our Criteria**

### **7.2.1. Criteria met**

Language community needs are addressed concerning literacy and language teaching material production. SIL contributes significantly to social justice work and the recognition of minority groups. SIL does have status as a non-governmental organization. It is an excellent compiler of resources ranging from language materials to technological support, and is a useful source for nonlinguistic expertise and areal contacts.

### **7.2.2. Criteria not met**

The primary focus of SIL is not scientific research and language documentation. The scientific method may be seen as compromised by the nature of its research. Foreign moral and religious concepts are introduced, and become involved in the process of linguistic inquiry. Although the Institute employs linguists as professional language documenters, providing them with the opportunity to dedicate themselves fully to that pursuit, some secular linguists interested in pursuing fieldwork do not consider SIL as an employment option. The organization does maintain a code of ethics which in fact prohibits actual proselytizing by field linguists (SIL, 2006). However, the organization’s overt religious affiliations are incompatible with most standard ethical codes for human research (AAA, 2006, DoBes, 2006, Rice, 2005). SIL also does not provide a mechanism to train native speakers in Linguistics, but rather training for native speakers as Bible translators.

## **8.0. FURTHER DISCUSSION OF CRITERIA**

### **8.1. Employment**

Although all of the organizations discussed here employ linguists to do primarily language documentation work, employment is extremely limited. The quantity of positions available is not sufficient to employ the numbers of professional linguists that the task of language documentation requires. Additional organizations are needed to supply more such opportunities.

## 8.2. Language Material Database

We acknowledge that these organizations do provide a way to facilitate access of language materials. However, there has not yet been established any comprehensive system to locate and organize the materials that all researchers uncover in the preparation for research activities. There should be a central database for all language related materials, including ways of locating and evaluating their quality.

## 8.3. US Based

With the exception of SIL, none of the institutions discussed here have been based in the United States. This was not discussed in the analysis, but should be remembered as a missing element in organized language documentation, for reasons discussed previously.

## 9.0. CONCLUSION

The inclusion of the specific organizations discussed in this article were to some degree arbitrary, and we acknowledge that this list is far from sufficiently representative of the true extent of the institutional resources for language documentation efforts. The organizations included here do represent the largest and most visible bodies, but there are many other institutions which do in fact together cover many of the individual criteria we have laid out. However, there remains a need for the organizational presence and breadth that would match the urgency of language death.

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# SEMI-AUTOMATIC LABELING OF INTONATION IN ToBI FRAMEWORK

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## ABSTRACT

In this paper we describe a computer program for the semi-automatic labeling of American English pitch accents in the ToBI framework. Acoustic measurements of pitch were used as input to the classification rules. Accents were grouped into equivalent labels based on the tune similarity. The program is optimized for a single female speaker and achieved an accuracy level of 69%. Ideas for improving accuracy are discussed. Applications of such a program are two-fold: 1) for labeling of intonation in large studies and 2) as an educational tool for students who study intonation labeling in the ToBI framework.

## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

Intonation is an important part of speech by which semantic and pragmatic information is encoded. Different intonation patterns will distinguish a question from a statement and a hesitant from a confident response. The process of marking intonation patterns in a transcription is usually performed manually by trained researchers based on their auditory impressions and acoustic measurements. An accurate automatic prosodic labeling system is highly desirable to save time in studies dealing with large quantities of data.

There have been several studies in this field trying to develop such a system (Mertens, 2004; Hirst, 1999; Campbell, 1996; Taylor, 1995a, 1995b). However, a fully automatic prosodic labeling system has not yet been achieved.

The goal of this paper is to describe a program that can be used for the semi-automatic labeling of the pitch accents of American English in the Tones and Break Indices (ToBI) framework, based on acoustic measurements of pitch. In this paper, we refer to it as ToBI Labeler (TL). A set of audio samples recorded by a single female speaker (selected by authors from [ftp://ftp.ling.ohio-state.edu/pub/TOBI/ame\\_wav\\_files/](ftp://ftp.ling.ohio-state.edu/pub/TOBI/ame_wav_files/)) was used to train and test the program. Accents were grouped into equivalent labels based on tune similarity using the five classification rules developed. The estimated label is either 1) one of the four pitch accents (H\*, L\*, L\*+H, L+H\*) or 2) a composite group involving a falling tune that corresponds to a combination of pitch accents, phrase accents, and boundary tones.

Several simplifications were made in this initial study. Out of three available acoustic variables (pitch, duration, and intensity) only pitch measurements were used. In addition, the measurements were confined to the pitch-accented syllables only, and consequently the downstep pitch accent (H+!H\*) was excluded. Nevertheless, the accuracy of the program achieved a level of 69% on average for the four pitch accents considered. Simple accents were recognized more accurately than the contour accents. This is an encouraging result, given that the model used in the paper is very simple. Several suggestions towards an improving accuracy are discussed at the end of the paper, with predicted accuracy levels in the neighborhood of 90%.

There are multiple possible applications of the program. First, it can be used by researchers for semi-automatic labeling of intonation, thus saving a substantial amount of a researcher's time in large studies. Secondly, it can be used as an educational tool, as the interactive version of the program helps students master the intonation labeling technique.

We introduce the ToBI system for prosodic labeling in section 2. Then, we describe the basics of the TL program in section 3. In section 4, we explain the rules for classifying pitch accents used in the program. In section 5, we discuss the results obtained during the test phase and suggest possible ways to improve the accuracy. We conclude in section 6.



## 2.0. BRIEF SUMMARY OF ToBI LABELING SYSTEM

ToBI (Tones and Break Indices) has been a standard for prosodic labeling for the last several years and has been used by many researchers. A ToBI transcription usually consists of a recorded utterance, fundamental frequency contour representation, and the symbolic labels for events on the four parallel tiers including 1) an orthographic tier, 2) a tone tier, 3) a break-index tier, and 4) a miscellaneous tier (Beckman & Elam, 1997).

On the orthographic tier, vertical marks are used to denote the beginning and the end of the word. The word is transcribed between these two marks. The miscellaneous tier is used for comments or to mark events such as silence, audible breaths, laughter, disfluencies, etc.

Break indices measure the degree of perceived juncture between each word and the following speech material (next word or silence). A break index can take one of the following values: a) 0, for clitics or close junctures, b) 1, for phrase-medial word boundaries, c) 2, for mismatches between the durational and tonal patterns, d) 3, for intermediate intonation phrase boundaries, and e) 4, for full intonation phrase boundaries.

There are two types of tones marked on the tone tier. Pitch events associated with intonational boundaries are called *phrasal tones* and pitch events associated with accented syllables - *pitch accents*. There are two basic levels for tones, high and low, determined based on the local pitch range. Tone events are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Pitch Events on the Tone Tier

Pitch accents		Phrasal tones			
		Intermediate phrase		Intonation Phrase	
H*	Peak accent	H-	High phrase accent	H%	High final boundary tone
L*	Low accent	L-	Low phrase accent	L%	Low final boundary tone
L*+H	Scooped accent			%H	High initial boundary tone
L+H*	Rising peak accent				
H+!H*	Downstep from high				

An example of ToBI labeling is given in Figure 1. An audio file is open in Praat together with the textgrid file containing four separate tiers on which pitch accents, words, and break indices are labeled. Audio and textgrid files of this type were used in developing the semi-automatic labeling system, ToBI Labeler (TL) described in this paper.

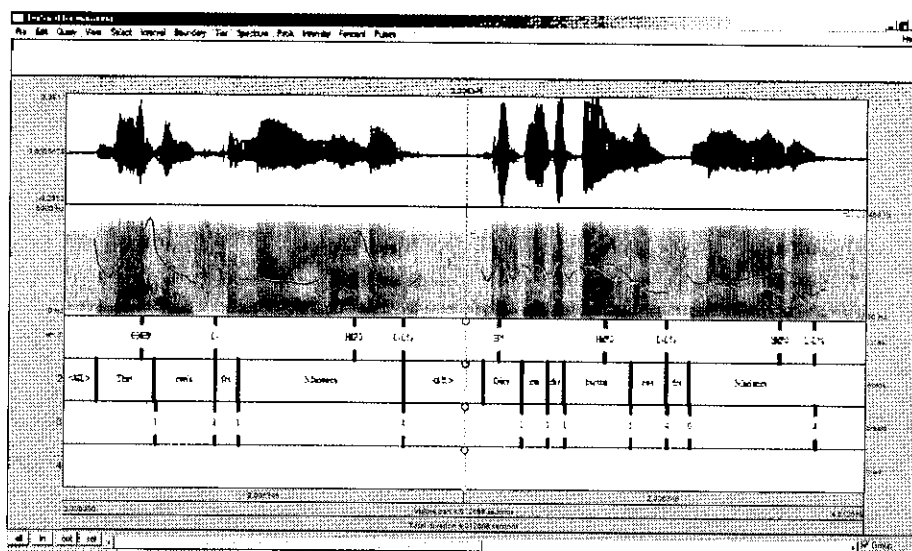


Figure 1: Original ToBI labeling (Beckman & Elam, 1997) presented in Praat

### 3.0. HOW THE PROGRAM WORKS

ToBI Labeler (TL) is a Praat script that uses audio files and the corresponding pre-labeled Praat textgrid files as input. Elementary operations are based on the scripts by Lennes (2003). These are incorporated into a new script that extracts acoustic information from the input, computes several variables based on the extracted information, estimates the pitch-accent type for each prominent syllable based on the classification rules we developed, and outputs the results into a text file. Here we explain each step in turn.

#### 3.1. Pre-labeling

TL requires acoustic information from the time interval corresponding to each pitch-accented syllable. As we mentioned in the introduction, TL is semi-automatic because it does not play a full role in labeling pitch accents. Prominent syllables expected to carry a pitch accent are manually marked by two boundaries (beginning and end) on a tier called Prominence (PA) tier, which is added to each textgrid.<sup>1</sup> Stops, fricatives, and affricates are excluded from the syllable duration in order to avoid the problem of missing pitch. Thus the marked syllable boundaries include only vowels, liquids, and nasals.

TL locates pitch accents by reading the PA tier in a textgrid file. An example of a textgrid with the PA tier and syllable boundaries marked is shown in Figure 2.

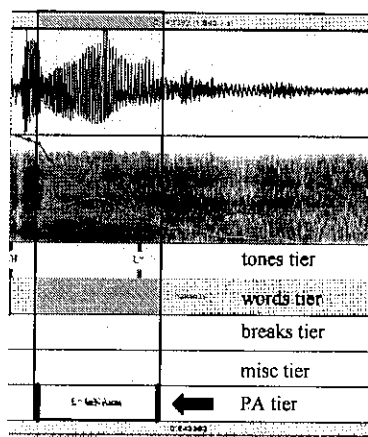


Figure 2: Manually marked boundaries of a pitch-accented syllable

### 3.2. Extracting the Acoustic Information

TL extracts acoustic information about the pitch from the audio-file and the corresponding textgrid file in which the prominent syllables are marked. The list of measurements extracted by the TL is given in Table 2.

Table 2: Extracted Acoustic Variables

Name	Description
Global (Sentence) Measurements	
Global Maximum Pitch	Maximum pitch in audio file
Global Minimum Pitch	Minimum pitch in a audio file
Local (Pitch-accented syllable) measurements	
Start-syllable Pitch Value (PS)	Pitch value at the start of pitch-accented syllable
Mid-syllable Pitch Value (PM)	Pitch value at the middle of pitch-accented syllable
End-syllable Pitch Value (PE)	Pitch value at the end of pitch-accented syllable
Local Maximum Pitch	Maximum pitch in a pitch-accented syllable
Local Minimum Pitch	Minimum pitch in a pitch-accented syllable

### 3.3. Computing Additional Acoustic Variables

Based on the information in Table 2, TL computes several variables. These include *global* variables like Global Pitch Range and the Borderline of the L\* domain, as well as *local* variables such as Local Pitch Range, Local/Global range ratio, Pitch Contour Slope Ratio, and Midpoint pitch of the pitch-accented syllable. These variables are summarized in Table 3.

Table 3: Computed Acoustic Variables

Name	Description
Global (Sentence) Variables	
Global Pitch Range	Global Maximum Pitch - Global Minimum Pitch
Borderline of the L* domain	Global Minimum Pitch + Range*30%
Local (Pitch-accented syllable) Variables	
Local Pitch Range	Local Maximum Pitch - Local Minimum Pitch
Pitch Contour Slope Ratio	Ratio of slopes in the two halves of the accented syllable = $(PE-PM)/(PM-PS)$
Local/Global range ratio	Local Pitch Range / Global Pitch Range
Midpoint pitch	$(\text{Local Maximum Pitch} + \text{Local Minimum Pitch})/2$

### 3.4. Rule Application for Accent Classification

TL analyzes the information it has extracted to classify pitch accents into one of four pitch accent types. TL does this computation based on five rules that we have developed. We describe these rules in detail in section 4.

#### 4.0. RULES FOR CLASSIFYING PITCH ACCENTS

We developed five rules based on the set of 16 audio files corresponding to a single female speaker and the accompanying manually labeled textgrid files, representing 16 *training sets*. Each audio file consists of one or more sentences with pitch accents. These materials are taken from the original English ToBI homepage ([http://www.ling.ohio-state.edu/~tobi/ame\\_tobi/](http://www.ling.ohio-state.edu/~tobi/ame_tobi/)).

Developed rules classify each posited pitch accent into one of four pitch accent types ( $H^*$ ,  $L^*$ ,  $L^*+H$ ,  $L+H^*$ ). The parameters used in the rules were optimized to correctly categorize pitch accents from the 16 training sets. The rules for categorizing pitch accents use only the information within the pitch-accented syllable. Some mislabeling occurred as the result of the limited information used. The errors are discussed in the results section.

##### 4.1. Rule 1: Simple or Contour Pitch Accent?

The first rule determines whether the accent is simple or contour pitch accents (e.g.  $H^*$ ,  $L^*$  or  $L^*+H$ ,  $L+H^*$ ). We define a variable that measures percentage of the overall pitch range used by a pitch accent, *Local/Global Range*. Pitch accents are classified into simple pitch accents, if the ratio of the local pitch range to the speaker's total pitch range is smaller than 30%, or into contour accents if the ratio of the local pitch range to the speaker's total pitch range is bigger than 30%. This rule is summarized in Table 4.

Table 4: Rule 1

Condition	Decision
Local/Global Range < 30%	simple pitch accent
Local/Global Range > 30%	contour pitch accent

The value of '30%' is based on the *training sets*. In Figure 3, the pitch range in the whole sentence is 75Hz. There are two pitch accents where the excursions of the pitch-accented syllables are 11Hz and 22Hz. The ratios *Local/Global Range* are 14% and 29% respectively. Therefore, the two pitch accents are categorized as simple pitch accents. This classification, nonetheless, does not separate high ( $H^*$ ) and low ( $L^*$ ) pitch accents. Another rule is used to complete the decision.

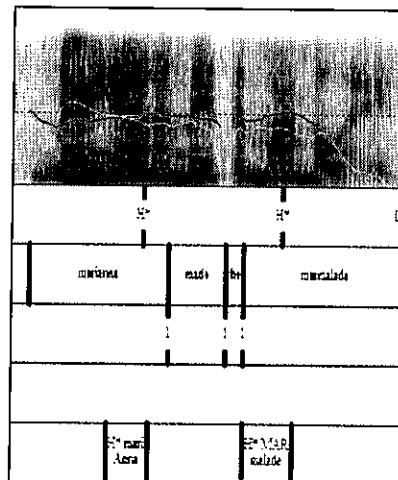


Figure 3: Two high pitch accents

#### 4.2. Rule 2: H\* or L\*?

After TL identifies pitch accents as simple pitch accents, it determines if they are high or low pitch based on Rule 2. This rule states, as seen in Table 5, that if the midpoint pitch for an accented syllable is higher than the borderline of the L\* domain, pitch accents are classified as H\*, otherwise, they are classified as L\*.

For example, there are two pitch accents in Figure 4. The midpoint pitch for the first pitch accent is 341Hz, and the midpoint pitch for the second pitch accent is 186Hz. The global minimum pitch in this sentence is 130Hz, and the borderline of the L\* domain is 210Hz. Therefore, the first pitch accent is classified as H\* because it is above the borderline, and the second pitch accent is classified as L\* because it is below the borderline.

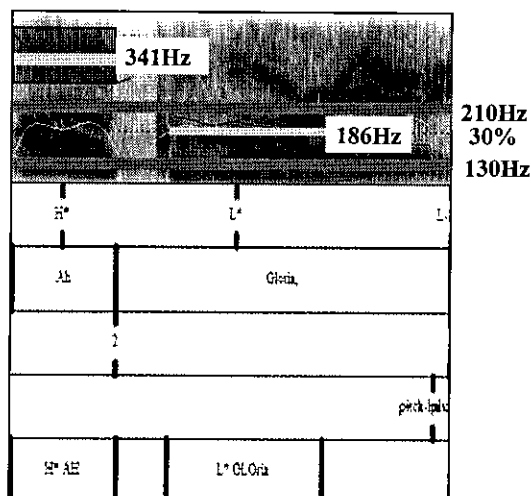


Figure 4: H\* and L\* pitch accents

Table 5. Rule 2

Condition	Decision
Midpoint pitch > Borderline of the L* domain	H*
Midpoint pitch < Borderline of the L* domain	L*

#### 4.3. Rule 3: Rising or Falling Tune?

Pitch accents that have been categorized as contour pitch accents have either a rising or a falling tune. In order to distinguish a rising tune from a falling tune, we use a rule that compares the pitch values at the beginning and the end of the accented syllable. As Table 6 shows, if the beginning pitch is lower than the end pitch, pitch accents are classified as having a rising tune; otherwise they are identified as having a falling tune.

Table 6. Rule 3

Condition	Decision
Start-syllable Pitch Value < End-syllable Pitch Value	Rising tune
Start-syllable Pitch Value > End-syllable Pitch Value	Falling tune

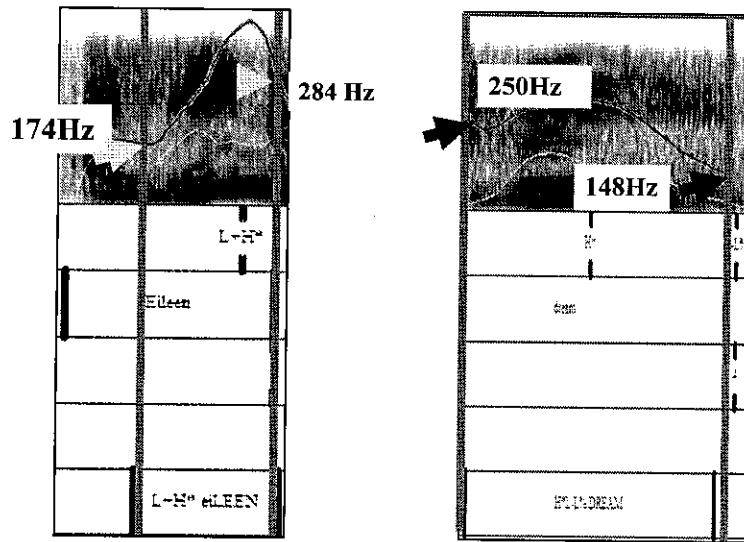


Figure 5: Rising tune (left) and Falling tune (right)

In Figure 5, the pitch accent on the left is classified as a rising tune because the beginning pitch is smaller than the end pitch. On the other hand, the pitch accent on the right is classified as a falling tune because the beginning pitch is higher than the end pitch.

The project finds that a falling tune does not correspond to contour pitch accents (among the combinations considered; it might correspond to  $H+!H^*$  which is excluded from the discussion in this paper). Falling tune only corresponds to a simple pitch accent followed or preceded by a phrase tone or another pitch accent. The reason for this is that E-ToBI system does not employ complex accents of the type  $X+L$  (e.g.  $H^*+L$  or  $H+L^*$ ). A falling tune can be found when  $H^*$  falls on the last syllable of the word and is followed by an L-phrase accent or a subsequent  $L^*$  pitch accent, or when  $\%H$  precedes an  $L^*$  pitch accent (e.g.  $H^*L-$ ,  $H^*L^*$ ,  $\%H L^*$ ). Thus a category *falling tune* was given as output in this case.

#### 4.4. Rule 4: $L^*+H$ or $L+H^*$ ?

Pitch accents which have been categorized as a rising tune are further classified into  $L^*+H$  or  $L+H^*$ . There are two rules for this classification. The first rule, Rule 4, uses the information about the Pitch Contour Slope Ratio as defined in Table 3. This rule, presented in Table 7, states that contour pitch accent with a rising tune is classified into  $L^*+H$  if the Pitch Contour Slope Ratio is negative.

Table 7: Rule 4

Condition	Decision
Pitch Contour Slope Ratio < 0	$L^*+H$
Pitch Contour Slope Ratio $\geq$ 0	Check Rule 5

In Figure 6, we have  $PE-PM = 181\text{Hz}$  and  $PM-PS = -13\text{Hz}$ . Therefore, the pitch accent is classified as  $L^*+H$  because the ratio of slopes is negative. If the ratio of slopes is positive, TL uses another rule, Rule 5, to distinguish between  $L^*+H$  and  $L+H^*$ .

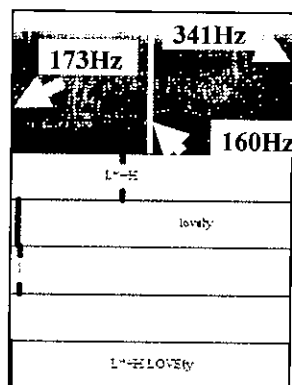


Figure 6: Scooped tone

#### 4.5. Rule 5: L\*+H or L+H\*

Rule 5, presented in Table 8, states that if the second half of pitch-accented syllable is much steeper than the first half, the pitch accent is classified as L\*+H otherwise, it is classified as L+H\*. Delimiting value of 1.6 is chosen to best fit the data in the 16 training sets.

Table 8: Rule 5

Condition	Decision
Pitch Contour Slope Ratio > 1.6	L*+H
Pitch Contour Slope Ratio < 1.6	L+H*

In Figure 7, the first pitch accent is classified into L\*+H because the ratio of slopes is bigger than 1.6. The second pitch accent is classified into L+H\* because the ratio of slopes is below 1.6.

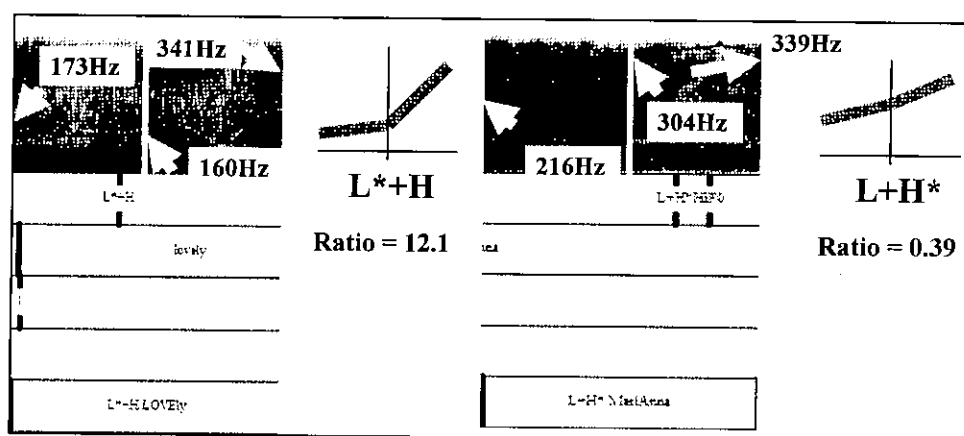


Figure 7. Two pitch accents: L\*+H and L+H\*

#### 4.6. Summary of the Rule Application

Table 9 represents a summary of the procedure. We start with Rule 1, and based on the outcome for the observed syllable, we proceed with Rule 2, if the pitch accent is estimated as simple, or with Rule 3, if the pitch accent is estimated as contour. Rule 2 gives an estimate of the type of pitch accent. Rule 3 classifies the tune into rising or falling. In the case the tune is rising we proceed with application of Rule 4. If the tune is falling,

an estimate of the type of pitch accent is given. Similarly, after the application of Rule 4, either an estimate of a pitch accent is given, or Rule 5 is applied. For each pitch accent that we want to classify, the program needs to use at least two and at most four rules.

Table 9: Flowchart summarizing rules

Rule	Outcome	Classification	PA decision	Next Rule
Rule 1	Local/Global Range < 30%	Simple PA	/	Rule 2
	Local/Global Range > 30%	Contour PA	/	Rule 3
Rule 2	Midpoint pitch > Borderline of the L* domain		H*	/
	Midpoint pitch < Borderline of the L* domain		L*	/
Rule 3	Start-syllable Pitch Value < End-syllable Pitch Value	Rising Tune	/	Rule 4
	Start-syllable Pitch Value > End-syllable Pitch Value	Falling Tune	H*L-, (%H L*), H*(L*)	/
Rule 4	Pitch Contour Slope Ratio < 0		L*+H	/
	Pitch Contour Slope Ratio >= 0		/	Rule 5
Rule 5	Pitch Contour Slope Ratio > 1.6		L*+H	/
	Pitch Contour Slope Ratio < 1.6		L+H*	/

TL classifies equivalent accents (those having similar tune) into one category. For example, it categorizes L\* H\*, L% H\*, L-H\* as L+H\*, and it categorizes L\*+!H and L\* H- as L\*+H. In order to distinguish the combinations of pitch accents and phrase accents corresponding to the same tune (i.e., L\*H- and L\*+H), information outside pitch-accented syllable is necessary.

## 5.0. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this section we provide the results obtained using TL to classify the pitch accents marked at the PA tier of the 15 test files. A brief discussion of the cases of incorrectly predicted labels follows.

Let us introduce some notations used in the rest of this section. We call the hand-labeled pitch accent the *target label*. A prediction is *correct* if the target label is the same as the *predicted label* (label produced by TL). An *equivalent prediction* is a predicted label that differs from the target label but has the same tune (e.g., cases of %HL\* and H\*L-, as discussed in section 2.2.3.). *Incorrect prediction* is a predicted label that differs from the target label and does not have the same tune (e.g., H\* and L\*). The results are summarized in Table 10.

Table 10: Number of instances of correct, equivalent, and incorrect predictions of each accent type in the testing session

Target label	Total number	No.of correct predictions	No. of equivalent predictions	No.of incorrect predictions
H*	32	22	3	7
L*	18	5	6	7
L*+H	2	1	0	1
L+H*	6	3	0	3
!H*	4	0	3	1
All	62	31	12	19

As mentioned previously, the downstep high (!H\*) pitch accent was excluded from the classification process since the decision rules are based on the acoustic measurements on a single syllable.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, three out of four instances were recognized as an equivalent label (!H\* is recognized as H\*). In the further discussion, we exclude the cases of downstep.



Let us look at the percentages of correct, equivalent, and incorrect predictions, shown in Table 11. We define accuracy as a percentage of cases in which the predicted label is either correct or equivalent.

Table 11: Percentages of correct, equivalent, and incorrect predictions for each accent type in the testing session

	H*	L*	L*+H	L+H*	All
Target label instances	32	18	2	6	58
% correct	0.68	0.28	0.5	0.5	0.53
% equivalent	0.10	0.33	0	0	0.15
% incorrect	0.22	0.39	0.5	0.5	0.31
% correct or equivalent	0.78	0.61	0.5	0.5	0.69

The results show that the highest relative number of correct predictions is obtained for H\* (69%) and the lowest for L\* (28%), with the contour accents being close to the overall average of 53% correct predictions. However, when the number of equivalent labels is added to the score, the numbers rise to 78% for H\*, and 61% for L\*, while staying the same for the contour accents. Since the number of instances of contour accents is small (two and six for L\*+H and L+H\* respectively), the numbers might not be representative of the general performance. The accuracy, as defined above, thus, reaches 69%, which is a promising result given the number of approximations used in the algorithm. We are hopeful that rules developed based on information on adjacent syllables will further improve the accuracy.

Next, we present types of predicted labels (including correct, equivalent, and incorrect) for each accent type. This examination will help us identify potential problems with the labeling and indicate how the labeling process can be improved. In Table 12, 'C' stands for correct, 'E' for equivalent, and 'I' for incorrect. For each label, all possible predicted labels are given, and in cases where more than one type belongs to the same category (e.g., H\* and H\*L- in H\* category), the target label is given in the brackets. For instance L\*+H (H\*) in the third line of row 1 means that label L\*+H was predicted for the target label H\*. Also, if the previous or the following pitch accent seem relevant they are included in the brackets, so L+H\*((L\*) H\*) indicates a predicted label L+H\* for the target label H\*, which is preceded in the close neighborhood by an L\*.

Table 12: Types of predicted labels for each accent type in test session

Target label	Types of predicted labels	
H*	C:	H*, H*L-
	E:	L+H*((L*) H*), L+H*((L*) H*)
	I:	H*(H*L-), L*+H (L-H*L-), H*L- (H*), L*(H*), L+H*(H*), L*+H (H*)
L*	C:	L*
	E:	L*+H(L*(H*)), L*+H(L*H-), H*L-(%HL*)
	I:	H*(L*), H*(L*(H*)), L+H*(L*H-)
L*+H	C:	L*+H
	I:	L*
L+H*	C:	L+H*
	I:	L*+H, H*

Equivalent labels show that if preceded or followed by a pitch accents or a phrase tone, a simple pitch accent is predicted as contour tone. This can be dealt with in a more complex algorithm, in which the relation between successive pitch accents and tones is taken into account, as opposed to just looking at the measurements on the target syllable.

The incorrectly predicted labels for the contour tones indicate that the preceding/trailing tones are sometimes not recognized, and that the distinction between L\*+H and L+H\* is missed. These errors might be a result of a lack of information on the previous and/or the following syllable, as well as the lack of information

about intensity on the accented syllable. While these are indicative, looking at more examples of contour accents would help in defining closer how the rules for the prediction of contour accents can be improved.

When cases of incorrectly predicted labels were examined one by one, it was discovered that there are three factors that affect the result: 1) microprosody, 2) creaky voice on the accented syllable, and 3) incorrectly traced minimum pitch (affecting the speaker's posited range) by the acoustic analysis software. Microprosodic effects draw the pitch down at the beginning of the word "won't" (voiced initial segment) thus resulting in predicting L+H\* for the target label H\*. Creaky voice affects the algorithm in that the pitch might be missing on part or all of the syllable. In addition, creaky voice at any part of the utterance will result in tracking the speaker's pitch range incorrectly. In other words, Praat does not track the pitch well when creaking occurs. Since this happens in the speaker's low range, some of the lower frequencies will not show on the pitch track, and thus the speaker's minimum frequency and the range will be incorrectly tracked. If the lowest tracked pitch is 100Hz, instead of 80Hz, then the borderline of the L\* range (30% of the overall range above the minimum pitch) will be higher, and some of the target high tones (H\*) will be predicted as low tones (L\*). Incorrectly estimating the range can also be due to pitch halving, in which case the observed global minimum pitch is smaller than the real one, lowering the borderline of the L\* region and thus resulting in some high tones H\* being predicted as low tones L\*. In fact, there are only 5 cases (out of 58 observed) in which the error in prediction is caused by something other than microprosody, creaky voice, or incorrect track of the speaker's global minimum pitch. If only these cases were considered incorrect, the accuracy will rise to 91%.

## 6.0. SUMMARY

In this paper, we described the design of a semi-automatic labeling of pitch accents. Based on the 16 training files corresponding to one native speaker of English, we formulated rules that would be used in prediction. The results show surprisingly high accuracy for the simple system considered. Some of the approximations we made in order to simplify the process were: 1) only information about pitch (but not intensity or duration) was considered, 2) only information on a single syllable was considered, 3) only rough approximation of the contours was considered 4) parameters used in rules were estimated by observation, not thorough examination of the behavior of each pitch accent, and 5) downstep was not considered.

As a pre-processing step, positions of the pitch-accented syllables were marked manually in the textgrid files, not determined based on acoustic parameters. This resulted in a simplified system involving no automatic recognition of prominence. However, the whole process then becomes semi-automatic and requires human assistance in preparation of the files. These problems will be addressed in future work. Additional problems we encountered were the following: 1) microprosodic effects and 2) incorrect tracking of the speaker's range (due to incorrect pitch settings or creaky voice). Two of these can be dealt with, namely, the microprosodic effects at the beginning of the syllable (removing a short part at the beginning of the syllable), and the incorrect tracking due to the incorrect pitch settings (if the pitch settings are optimized for each utterance). Effect of the creaky voice remains a difficult problem, since little can be done when part of the pitch information is missing. In this case, the human ear provides much needed assistance, being able to hear low pitches that Praat (or other programs) cannot detect.

In addition to the proposed improvements in the decision rules, further versions of this program are planned to offer interactive support to users. In this interactive version, ToBI Tutor (TT), the program suggests a possible pitch-accent label for the marked prominent syllable when the TT script is run. We hope that it will be used as an instructional support for ToBI training and help students and researchers alike master the intricacies of this intonation labeling technique.

## NOTES

1. If no textgrid exists so far, a new one is created containing the Prominence tier.
2. Information about the previous pitch accent is needed to correctly classify the downstepped pitch accents.

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# MISMATCHES IN CHINESE VERB-OBJECT CONSTRUCTIONS

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## ABSTRACT

This paper offers a new treatment to address the semantic construal of Chinese Verb-Object (VO) constructions such as *chi guanzi* ('eat at a restaurant' lit. 'eat restaurant'). Various divergent proposals have been raised as to the derivation of these constructions. This paper argues that such unconventional VO constructions involve nominals designating information that fails to match with the semantic features of the verb's conventional direct object. A syntactic-semantic mechanism—cognitive compression—is posited as the generative operation necessary for the production of such constructions.

## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

The interaction between form and meaning has drawn the interest of researchers for years, and one such type of interaction is found in Mandarin Chinese unconventional Verb-Object (VO) constructions (Xing, 1996; Quo, 1999; Wang, 2000; He, 2003; Li, 2005). These analyses challenge the assumption that "meaning, rooted in cognition, is expressed by form, which is based on sound sequences organized into syntactic configurations" (Hsieh, 2006, p.2). Indeed, Hsieh (2006), Francis and Michaelis (2003) present examples of incongruence between syntactic form and semantic meaning. Consider the following example sentences (with unconventional direct objects marked in bold here and below):

- (1) a. 我們 今天 吃 館子。  
wo-men jintian chi **guanzi**.  
I-Pl. today eat **restaurant**.  
'We ate at a restaurant today.'
- b. 我們 今天 在 館子 吃飯。  
wo-men jintian zai guanzi chi-fan.  
I-Pl. today at restaurant eat-food.  
'We ate at a restaurant today.'
- (2) a. 張三 教 高中; 他 太太 教 幼兒園。  
Zhangsan jiao **gaozhong**, ta taitai jiao **youeryuan**.  
Zhangsan teach **high school** his wife teach **kindergarten**.  
'Zhangsan teaches **high school**, and his wife teaches **kindergarten**.'
- b. 張三 在 高中 教課; 他 太太 在 幼兒園 教課。  
Zhangsan zai **gaozhong** jiao-ke ta taitai zai **youzhiyuan** jiao-ke.  
Zhangsan at high school teach-class his wife at kindergarten teach-class.  
'Zhangsan teaches classes at a high school, and his wife teaches classes at a kindergarten.'

Examples (1a) and (1b) present two grammatical utterances that express the same idea: 'We ate at a restaurant today.' The difference between these two examples is that, in (1b), the PATIENT thematic role is expressed in the direct object, but in (1a) the LOCATIVE role takes this position. Similarly, Examples (2a) and (2b) refer to the same meaning: 'Zhangsan teaches **high school**; his wife teaches **kindergarten**.' Notice that LOCATIVE nominals are normally expressed as obliques and not direct objects in the above two cases. Thus, although (1a) is grammatically acceptable, its syntactic form *chi guanzi* 'eat at a restaurant' (lit. 'eat restaurant') nonetheless contradicts the conventional framework of thematic roles used in the Mandarin VO construction. That is why their literal reading sounds illogical. In (1a), for instance, the direct object 'restaurant' is obviously not something edible and does not undergo the action *chi* 'eat.' That is, (1b) and (2b) comprise a straightforward correspondence between its form and meaning, whereas (1a) and (2a) contain an unconventional usage of the VO construction causing the form-meaning incongruence.

The linguistic phenomenon containing the incongruity between form and meaning, as shown in Examples (1a) and (2a), is defined as syntax-semantics mismatch in this paper. This describes the situation that meaning can be mismatched with the form under certain circumstances. Syntax-semantics mismatch is a commonly attested phenomenon in Mandarin Chinese. In particular, VO constructions that involve mismatch are frequently used in spoken Mandarin. This paper will first describe and categorize the syntax-semantic mismatch observed in VO constructions. Next, explanations for the derivation of such mismatched constructions shall be discussed, and a new treatment will be proposed and examined. Finally, the specific VO constructions will be reexamined under this new treatment.

## 2.0. SYNTAX-SEMANTICS MISMATCH IN VERB OBJECT CONSTRUCTIONS

To develop a clearer picture of the mismatch in VO constructions, an important first step is to identify conventional direct objects. A direct object is characterized by its position following the verb and, typically, a direct object fills the thematic role of patient. Conventionally, the patient undergoes the effects of the agent's action described by the preceding verb. For instance, in the case of *'He repaired the car'*, the direct object *car* is a patient which has undergone the repairing performed by the agent (Givon, 1993).

However, in real language use, the thematic roles of direct objects are often more complex. Take the case of *'She teaches high school'* as an example: *'high school'* can be analyzed as a direct object occurring immediately after the verb *'teaches'*. However, it is understood that the real object of the verb *'teaches'* should be a certain subject such as mathematics or economics, and the supposed direct object *'high school'* actually bears a locative role. The application of this unconventional thematic role for the direct object reveals an incongruence between the prototypical VO form and meaning. In this case, the speaker's meaning should be interpreted as *'She teaches a certain subject at a high school'*, and this meaning is mismatched with the VO construction. Thus, *'high school'* bears the non-prototypical locative thematic role and is defined as an unconventional object in Xing's (1996) analysis of semantic relations between verbs and objects.

According to the thematic roles of the direct objects, the cases of syntax-semantic mismatch in Mandarin VO construction can be categorized as follows:

- (3)
- |                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| a. Instrument:        |   |
| 寫 毛筆                  | 看 望遠鏡                                   |
| xie maobi             | kan wangyuanjing                        |
| write brush           | look telescope                          |
| 'write with a brush'  | 'look through a telescope'              |
| b. Location:          |   |
| 吃 館子                  | 寫 黑板                                    |
| chi guanzi            | xie heiban                              |
| eat restaurant        | write blackboard                        |
| 'eat at a restaurant' | 'write on a blackboard'                 |
| c. Manner:            |   |
| 唱 女高音                 | 存 活期                                    |
| chang nūgaoyin        | cun huoqi                               |
| sing soprano          | deposit checking account                |
| 'sing soprano'        | 'deposit money into a checking account' |
| d. Agent:             |   |
| 曬 太陽                  | 照 X光                                    |
| shai taiyang          | zhao X-guang                            |
| bask sun              | irradiate x-ray                         |
| 'bask in the sun'     | 'have an x-ray taken'                   |

- e. Goal
- |                   |          |                              |              |
|-------------------|----------|------------------------------|--------------|
| 飛                 | 上海       | 排                            | 電影票          |
| Fei               | Shanghai | pei                          | dianyingpiao |
| Fly               | Shanghai | line up                      | movie ticket |
| 'fly to Shanghai' |          | 'line up for a movie ticket' |              |
- f. Others
- |                         |         |                          |         |
|-------------------------|---------|--------------------------|---------|
| 吃                       | 父母      | 跑                        | 警察      |
| chi                     | fumu    | pao                      | jingcha |
| eat                     | parents | run                      | police  |
| 'rely on one's parents' |         | 'escape from the police' |         |

The examples above classify the thematic roles of various non-prototypical direct objects into instrument, location, manner, agent and goal. Indeed, some relationships between the verbs and direct objects are so abstract, as in (3f) with its extended meaning of *chi* ('eat'), that they defy categorization.

Moreover, depending on the context, certain direct objects can have more than one thematic role, with a single VO construction displaying different connotations, as in the following examples:

- (4) a. 張三 今天 吃 館子。  
Zhangsan jintian chi guanzi  
Zhangsan today eat restaurant  
'Zhangsan ate at a restaurant today.'
- b. 張三 經常 吃 館子。  
Zhangsan jingchang chi guanzi  
Zhangsan usually eat restaurant  
'Zhangsan usually eats out.'
- (5) a. 這 地方 長年 下雪， 只要 一 出 太陽， 人們 就 跑 出來 曬 太陽。  
zhe difang chang-nian xia-xue zhiyao yi chu taiyang ren-men jiu pao chulai shai taiyang  
this place all-year snow if once show sun people then run out bask sun  
'It snows year round here. Whenever the sun shows, people go out to enjoy the warmth.'
- b. 棉被 濕了， 拿 出去 曬 太陽 吧！  
mianbei shi-le na chuqu shai taiyang ba  
quilt wet-Part. take out dry sun Part.  
'The quilt is wet. Take it out to dry it in the sun.'

The direct object *guanzi* 'restaurant' in (4a) bears the thematic role of location, which is different from that of *guanzi* in (4b), which bears the manner role. As for *shai taiyang* 'bask in the sun' or 'dry in the sun' in (5a) and (5b), the difference in meanings for the VO construction is even clearer. As such, we must accept that the core meaning behind the VO form can vary according to the context in which it occurs.

Another special property of the syntax-semantics mismatch is that some unconventional VO constructions occur only when the context provides sufficient information for comprehension, while others may be understood easily without relying too much on the context information. For example:

- a. 你 吃 大碗， 我 吃 小碗。  
ni chi da-wan wo chi xiao-wan  
you eat big-bowl I eat small-bowl  
'You ate the bigger bowl of food, and I ate the smaller one.'

- ? b. 我 喜歡 吃 大碗。  
       wo xihuan chi da-wan  
       I like eat big-bowl  
       'I like eating big bowls.'

Example (6a) clearly draws a comparison between two bowls of food and, therefore, it is easier to interpret. In contrast, (6b) is confusing to most interlocutors unless there exists some context in which *da-wan* 'big bowl' can easily be understood as referring to something that can be eaten.

Certainly, some unconventional VO constructions, such as those shown in (3f), become idiomatic through extensive use, and people may understand them less in terms of the VO construction and more in terms of an idiomatic meaning. The above cases of syntax-semantic mismatch demonstrate how they are different from regular VO constructions in the language. In the next section, we will examine the generation of syntax-semantics mismatches.

### 3.0. GENERATION OF MISMATCHED VO CONSTRUCTIONS

#### 3.1. Explanations Discussed in the Literature

Unconventional VO constructions have drawn the attention of many scholars (e.g., Xing, 1996; Quo, 1999; Wang, 2000; He, 2003; Li, 2005), though cognitive and syntactic approaches have not reached a consensus position for explaining the phenomenon. Nonetheless, it is generally agreed that context plays a crucial role in comprehension of mismatched VO constructions (Xing, 1996; Quo, 1999; He, 2003), under which analyses 'context' refers to: the physical context of where and how the conversation takes place, the epistemic context of background knowledge shared by the addresser and addressee, the linguistic context of previous discourse and prototypical linguistic form-meaning mappings, and the social context of cultural background and social conventions shared by the interlocutors (Cipollone, Keiser & Vasisht, 1998). Indeed, context provides a wealth of detailed information through which speakers and listeners are able to make appropriate references and discriminations to yield full comprehension of non-prototypical objects.

In Wang's discussion about unconventional VO constructions in the literature, he claims that unconventional VO constructions are generated through the conceptual device of metonymy. According to Lakoff and Johnson's canonic definition, metonymic concepts "emerge from the correlations in our experience between two physical entities or between a physical entity and something metaphorically conceptualized as a physical entity" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p.59). Eight metonymic concepts are discussed by Lakoff and Johnson, as follows: part for whole, face for person, producer for product, object of use for user, controller for controlled, institution for personnel, location for institution, and place for event. For instance, "Watergate changed our politics" is an example using place to refer to an event, such that the place where the event occurred stands semantically for the event itself. Besides, another feature of metonymy is that it includes a metonymic entity which usually bears some salient aspect that can stand for the related entity. The two entities should also belong to the same conceptual domain (Lakoff & Turner, 1989).

Using metonymy to explain the particular VO constructions at hand, Wang (2000) suggests that unconventional direct objects are metonymic forms of the conventional direct objects which bear the thematic role of patient. For example, the direct object *gaozhong* 'high school' in *jiao gaozhong* 'teach high school' is a metonymic form of the conventional object *ke* 'course'. Thus, 'high school' and 'course' are considered as two metonymic entities within the same conceptual domain, and 'high school' denotes the whole which in turn stands for the part 'course.'

However, when applying Wang's theory to other unconventional VO constructions, we can find there are at least two difficulties challenging his explanation. The first difficulty in applying his theory is that sometimes no conventional object can be identified as the original entity which later is represented by a metonymic form, since some verbs in the VO constructions are intransitive verbs or allow more than one conventional object. For example, the verb *fei* 'fly' in *fei Shanghai* 'fly to Shanghai' is intransitive in Mandarin, and *shai* 'bask' in *shai taiyang* 'bask in the sun' can have various conventional objects such as *shai mianbei* 'dry the quilt' or *shai jiaju* 'dry the furniture'. A second challenge to Wang's theory is that metonymic relationships are not easily apparent in mismatched constructions. For example, the verb *pei* 'line up' in *pei dianyingpiao* 'line up for a movie ticket' may be considered as having a conventional object *dui* 'queue'. In this

case, what kind of metonymic link exists between 'movie ticket' and 'queue'? Despite its deficiencies, however, Wong's approach leads us to think about the relations between linguistic behavior and human cognition, which is crucial in the generation of these particular VO constructions.

### 3.2. Influence of SVO Word Order

When the various complex meanings that can be presented in different syntactic forms somehow are mismatched with the VO constructions, it is reasonable to suggest that the generation of the mismatches in VO constructions is influenced by the language's strong SVO structural composition, which is frequently used and highly conformed to by native speakers of Mandarin Chinese (Li, 2004). With the facilitation of the context and natural language's pursuit of economy, syntax-semantics mismatch in VO constructions is generated through the mechanism of cognitive compression to fit the utterance to the SVO structure. During cognitive compression, the nominal presents new information in a position following the verb, thus adhering to the simple SVO structure. Meanwhile, the prototypical direct object of the verb, which would contain relatively less salient information, is naturally left out. The new compressed SVO form is syntactically more economical and successfully achieves the goal of conveying meaning to the interlocutor.

Mismatches in VO constructions can also be viewed as a type of language change in the correlation between syntax and semantics. Although meaning, rooted in cognition, desires to express various complex ideas, it can only be presented by limited syntactic forms. When syntax aims for economy and semantics strives for expressiveness, the contending forces of economy and expressiveness form competing constraints that result in language change (Hsieh, 2004). In other words, when semantics' demand for expressiveness is fulfilled to a certain extent by contextual support, the competing force of economy will prompt the speaker to express the meaning by adopting the simplest, least marked, and most dominant SVO form.

### 3.3. Cognitive Compression

In the generation of mismatch in VO constructions, the operation of cognitive compression proposed in this paper is the key factor allowing the complex meaning to be presented by the simple SVO form. This proposal is based on the theory of cognitive compression that has been discussed and examined in the psychology of mathematical thinking (Gray & Tall, 1994; Barnard, 1999; Barnard & Tall, 2001). Likewise, Gibbs proposes that "the theories of linguistic structure and use must be in accord with what is generally known about the human mind from different disciplines in the cognitive sciences" (1995, p.105). General conceptual organization, categorization principles and cognitive processing mechanisms should be reflected in both linguistic behavior and other cognitive activities. Based on the assumption that human cognition processes thinking consistently in certain ways, I propose that the occurrences of mismatch in VO constructions are a result triggered by the operation of cognitive compression, a notion that has been demonstrated in humans' processing of mathematical thinking.

Observing the process of mathematical calculation, research finds that the human mind has the ability to build up links among related concepts and compress them into a broader cognitive unit, which allows the thinkers to manipulate these ideas efficiently and insightfully. Barnard and Toll, researchers of mathematics education, suggest that "a common method of compression is to use words or symbols as tokens for complex ideas" (2001, p.93). Evidence of the cognitive compression has been collected and demonstrated in mathematical calculation processes. For example, a square containing the equilateral feature can be viewed as an entity different from a rectangle having only the opposite sides equal. However, except for its sides of equal length, a square shares all the other features with a rectangle, such as having four right angles or having the opposite sides parallel. If a square is treated as a special case of an equilateral rectangle, then a square can be subsumed to a whole collection of rectangular figures, and the concept of a rectangle can be developed into a broader cognitive unit. This process is an example of cognitive compression, and the new cognitive unit bearing the focus of attention can group together "a variety of closely connected pieces of knowledge" (Barnard & Toll, 2001, p.90).

Cognitive compression reduces cognitive strain by organizing information inputs and responses efficiently, streamlining the processing of information. To substantiate that compression actually occurs in our brain activity, Barnard and Toll cite Edelman and Tononi's discovery in neuroscience as follows: "as a task to be learned is practiced, its performance becomes more and more automatic; as this occurs and it fades from consciousness, the number of brain regions involved in performing the task becomes smaller" (Edelman & Tononi, 2000, p.51), further suggesting that the human brain has the capacity to process given tasks while



economizing its expense of nervous and muscular energy. Moreover, in Edelman and Tononi's investigations of human consciousness, they assert that "although [Broca's and Wernicke's areas] are not themselves responsible for thinking, their reentrant interactions with conceptual areas allow the creation of a vast number of symbolic constructions, or sentences. An enhanced symbolic memory allows for an increasing number of verbal tokens" (Edelman & Tononi, 2000, p.197).

Having examined the neural reality of cognitive compression, let us turn to the question of how cognitive compression prompts the occurrence of particular VO constructions. In the generation of the mismatched VO constructions, the original complex structure and ideas are compressed into a simple SVO form. As such, the nominal bearing the information focus is mismatched with its position as direct object, and it can combine with the verb only by forming a broader cognitive unit. The cognitive unit represents a piece of cognitive structure, and contains various closely related concepts. To prove that the new VO form is a broader unit, we can examine their meanings in different linguistic environments.

As mentioned before, depending on the context, some of the direct objects can have more than one thematic role, and the VO constructions can have various connotations. *Chi guanzi* 'eat at a restaurant' in Example (4) and *shai taiyang* 'bask in the sun' in Example (5) respectively demonstrate that a single direct object can have the thematic role of location or manner, depending on the context, and that a single VO unit can refer to multiple semantic connotations. Let's first trace several other possible contexts that *chi guanzi* 'eat at a restaurant' may occur:

- (7) a. 吃 館子, 很 花錢。  
 chi guanzi hen hua-qian  
 eat restaurant very spend-money  
 'It is expensive to have meals at restaurants.'
- b. 張三 吃 不 慣 外面 的菜, 所以 很少 吃 館子。  
 Zhangsan chi bu guan wai-mian de cai suo-yi hen-shao chi guanzi  
 Zhangsan eat not used outside Part. food therefore seldom eat restaurant  
 'Zhangsan is not used to restaurants' food; therefore, he seldom eats out.'

From Example (4a), (4b), (7a), and (7b), we can illustrate the cognitive structure of *chi guanzi* ('eat at a restaurant') as follows:

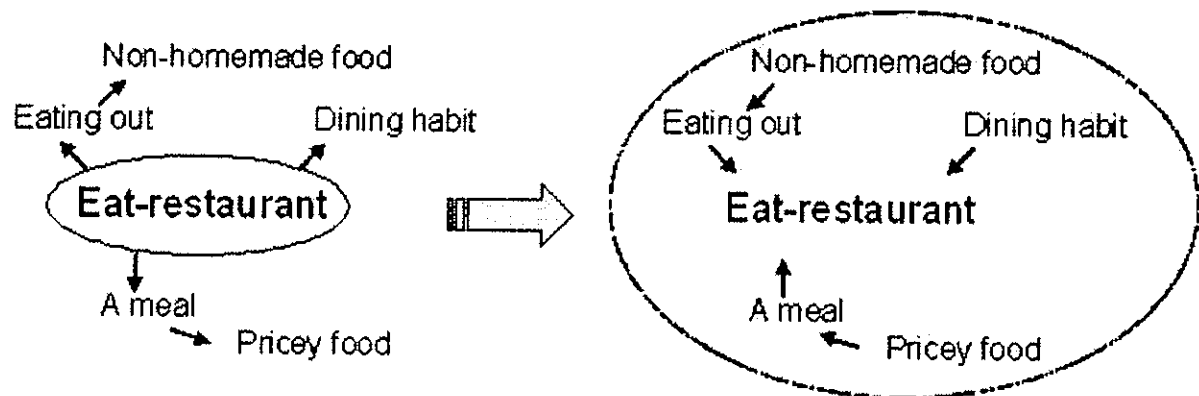


Figure 1: Cognitive Compression of *Chi Guanzi* ('Eat at a Restaurant')

The above figure shows that *chi guanzi* 'eat at a restaurant' can represent a small constellation of various related concepts. Once compressed into a broad cognitive unit, it becomes a rich and compact unit representing related, unstated concepts. This schema, in Figure 1, explains why unconventional VO constructions can have more than one thematic role and various connotations in different contexts. Nonetheless, special attention must be paid to the non-prototypical direct object because it is not randomly chosen to

represent the other related concepts. Xing (1996) proposes that non-prototypical direct objects must provide new information as a requisite to form particular VO constructions. The information focus borne by the unconventional objects is relatively newer and more salient as compared with the conventional direct objects of the verbs and other nominals bearing less or older information focus. For example, the prototypical objects such as *zi* 'words' in *xie zi* 'write words' contain less information focus because they can be presupposed in our cognition with recourse to the linguistic context or background knowledge. Therefore, the prototypical object will not be the new information focus and can be omitted from the clauses or sentences. In Xing's discussion of VO constructions, he offers an interesting example to illustrate this idea. *Ting erduo* 'listen with ears' is not an acceptable VO construction, while *ting erji* 'listen to earphones' is acceptable. This is because *erduo* 'ears' is a nominal that is conceptually assumed to be the organ used to hear something; for that reason, it contains less information focus than *erji* 'earphones'.

It is also important to note that some unconventional direct objects represent more complex cognitive structures, while others do not. When the unconventional construction itself represents a more abstract idea, more related concepts are linked behind the unit. Through frequent use, such unconventional VO constructions can be produced and understood without relying on context to supplement the meaning. For example, *chi fumu* (lit. 'eat parents') generally means 'rely on parents' and involves a more complex cognitive structure than that required for *chi guanzi* 'eat at a restaurant'. Indeed, *chi fumu* lit. 'eat parents' in a specific context may draw the interlocutor's attention to various concepts such as 'joblessness,' 'relying on the support of parents for living,' 'money,' 'food,' and many other concepts related to relying on parents.

#### 4.0. REEXAMINATION OF THE SYNTAX-SEMANTICS MISMATCH PHENOMENON

This paper has shown how VO mismatch can be generated through cognitive compression under the influence of SVO syntactic structure. In addition, there are several related remarks which will help reexamine this topic. When a speaker of an SVO language wants to address any event or state, it is cognitively more straightforward and generally more natural to use an SVO structure to express that the subject actively performs the action. Reflecting the SVO form's active semantics, the unconventional VO constructions examined all occur in sentences with an active voice. Besides, they can only have animate subjects and in some special cases personified inanimate subjects. These features also support the claim that the generation of the mismatches in VO constructions is influenced by the dominant SVO structure in Mandarin Chinese.

Moreover, the above discussion about cognitive compression demonstrates that human cognition processes mathematics calculation and language formation under the same principle—economy. The new SVO structure formed from the cognitive compression is relatively more efficient and economical in expressing the speaker's meaning. Especially when the context provides implicit support to get the meaning across the interlocutor, it is natural for the speaker to conform to the least marked SVO structure. On the other hand, it is possible that the mechanism of cognitive compression is a fundamental basis through which metonymy can occur. Notice that such mismatch is found not only in Chinese but also in English, as in the examples 'teach high school' and 'sing soprano'. Although mismatch occurs in both languages, Chinese has overwhelmingly more mismatch cases in VO constructions than English does. This may be due to the syntactic flexibility of Chinese, which lacks overt case and agreement marking, and the fact that Chinese word order is often driven by semantic rather than syntactic factors.

#### 5.0. CONCLUSION

The occurrences of unconventional VO constructions in Mandarin Chinese are cases of syntax-semantics mismatch generated by the mechanism of cognitive compression, in which the nominal bearing the information focus is mismatched with its position as direct object. This mechanism is influenced by the dominant SVO structure of Mandarin. With contextual support to fill in the intended meaning, the speaker is able to conform to the simple SVO form. Consequently, unconventional VO constructions generated through compression become rich and compact cognitive units that imply various related concepts linked closely behind the overt utterance. This mechanism allows interlocutors to manipulate ideas and reduce cognitive strain.

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Neg.	negation
Part.	particle
Perf.	perfective aspect
Pl.	plural

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### III. Literature



# MUSIC AS INTERTEXT: LYNYRD SKYNYRD AND NEIL YOUNG

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## ABSTRACT

Oh, they didn't really put me down. But then again, maybe they did! (laughs) But not in a way that matters. Shit, I think "Sweet Home Alabama" is a great song. I've actually performed it live a couple of times myself.

— Neil Young, from a 1992 interview in *Mojo* magazine

## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

Looking at music with a critical eye and ear sometimes supplies an analyst with evidence that a connection may exist between multiple songs from various artists. The connection may correspond to a particular topic or in reference to a particular ideology. However, what is paramount is the context of the songs. Thus, the time that the songs were written or recorded is significant to how they are perceived by an audience. Keith Negus from *Popular Music in Theory* supports Adorno's supposition that, "music [...] should have the potential to provoke listeners to think critically about the world" (10). This critical thinking comes from listening to the lyrics of a song and other elements of the music or reading them in the liner notes.

The music and lyrics that had an influence on me were the songs of Neil Young from the early 1970s. Both "Southern Man" and "Alabama" told tales of Southern bigotry. During the time of these recordings, the history of hate in the South continued to be alive. Soon after Young sang about the oppressed people in the South, Lynyrd Skynyrd, a southern rock group, responded in song to his perceived view of racism in their backyard. According to Roderick Hart and Suzanne Daughton, co-authors of *Modern Rhetorical Criticism*, they state in Chapter 3, "Analyzing Situations," that some artifacts contain information in which certain situational elements exist. They argue that one way to reveal context is through examining intertextuality—"the bits and pieces of previous texts 'deposited' into a new text" (47). This paper will analyze three songs from two musical artists from those times by observing the ways in which their ideology forms a political atmosphere. The rhetoric within these songs discloses a social commentary and critique. It's my intention to establish the social context and argue that the dialogue of Lynyrd Skynyrd challenges the authority of the initial singer-songwriter, Neil Young.

## 2.0. IDEOLOGY OF ROCK

The songs and artists in question for this discussion sprang from the turbulent '70s. From this era there were many issues that singer/songwriters recorded and performed that spoke about the Vietnam War, women's liberation, and civil rights. One such artist was Neil Young. After a stint in the late '60s with the group, Buffalo Springfield, Young began a solo career where he wrote mostly ballads and then later political songs. Negus from his chapter on "Politics" states that music is a medium of communication and public knowledge that "bring[s] people together in new dialogues and social relationships" (219). Neil Young appealed to an audience of mostly young hippies who were being swept up with the changing times. He represented to them a change of hope through empowerment via his music. David Crosby, a former bandmate and occasional backup singer for Neil Young, confirms that, "artists realized they had the power to bring people to a cause with the power of music" (x). Musicians could focus people's attention on issues and ideas.

In 1970 from his third album, *After the Gold Rush*, he chose to write and sing about white racism and repression of blacks in the South. That song was "Southern Man." His next album, *Harvest*, came out in 1972 and was a commercial success. These two albums established Neil Young as an influential solo artist. During this same time, he was touring with Crosby, Stills, and Nash—a "supergroup." He became part of their group, which then became known as CSNY. Young penned the anti-war anthem "Ohio" after he heard of the Kent State killings. On *Harvest*, he recorded the song "Alabama." Both "Southern Man" and "Alabama" dealt with racial issues that were prevalent in the '60s and '70s. Young's political rock songs were influential during this time since Bob Dylan was relatively quiet. Neil Young became the social activist spokesperson for the "Woodstock" generation.

During the early '70s, country rock became popular with the likes of the Eagles, Jackson Browne, and even Neil Young was so labeled. From this genre, a subgenre or subculture was produced, which became known as southern rock and produced groups such as the Allman Brothers Band, the Marshall Tucker Band, and Lynyrd Skynyrd. From his music studies text, *Understanding Popular Music*, Roy Shuker discusses audiences and fans. He defines subculture as "a convergence between music and cultural group values" (209). At concerts Lynyrd Skynyrd played with the Confederate flag behind them; some members of the band would drape themselves in the flag as well. On their second album, Lynyrd Skynyrd replied to Neil Young's songs about the South. They criticized Young for his stereotypical views that all southerners were rednecks. The song "Sweet Home Alabama" stood for southern pride and soon became an anthem for the South and its inhabitants. The song made direct references to Neil Young, and the band relegated his "Southern Man" to just a duck shoot—condemning all southerners. Taking a critical look at the lyrics of these songs will show whether there was a feud between Lynyrd Skynyrd and Neil Young, or whether it was just good fun with the southern tongue firmly in cheek.

### 3.0. NEIL YOUNG'S "SOUTHERN MAN"

Neil Young's *After the Gold Rush* was his first successful solo attempt and "Southern Man," a hard rock tune, was one of the more popular songs on the album, but at 5:32 the song was too long for a hit as a single. However, FM radio stations in the '70s became more prominent in the commercial market that lead to playing longer album cuts. Shuker suggests, "With the appeal of FM, the 1970's witnessed a consolidation of the historically established role of radio in chart success..." (62). Because buying albums at this time superseded singles, record buyers had an opportunity to peruse album covers and liners that often included the lyrics. The other curious item to note about "Southern Man" was that it was included in the hugely successful live album, *Four Way Street*, put out by CSNY in 1971. This extended version clocked in at thirteen plus minutes. According to Hart and Daughton, artists such as Young who are highly visible "become part of an audience [which] can constitute a major social statement" (48). That audience is made up of activists who are part of a social movement. This, in fact, made the audience a part of a select group that held Neil Young in high esteem—a form of cultural capital.

The lyrics of "Southern Man" are direct and accusatory. They describe racism towards blacks in the South, although no actual time reference is given. The imagery suggests it could have been from the Civil War days on up until then-current (1970) social unrest. The first person "I" is used so one can assume it refers to Neil Young who is originally from Canada but mostly lived in California at the time. In any case, it's a Northerner's voice, with the exception of the last verse where the "I" seems to be a white racist who witnesses a white woman with her black lover. Young uses the words southern man, but it may metaphorically symbolize the entire South. He sings about slavery and slaves' mistreatment. Young calls out to the South in a refrain of "how long" before African-Americans get their due. Within this chorus are brutal images of screaming and instruments of torture.

The song begins with Young grinding out a guitar riff with a rhythmic drumbeat that accompanies it. He gets right down to business with the chorus at the beginning of the song. From there Young reminds the southern man to read the "good book" (Bible) for what it says, possibly about tolerance and respect for others. Neil Young states that racial equality in the South will come someday, but for now the crosses (of the KKK) continue to burn. At the end of the first verse Young isolates "Southern man" to give it emphasis.

The second verse paints a picture of black workers picking cotton among southern plantations where there is a sharp contrast in living conditions between blacks and whites. Young wants to know when the "Southern man" will "pay them back;" in other words, when will the South address the enduring mistreatment of slaves. A rather graphic image of the abuse is in Young's next line where he hears screams as the slaves are getting whipped. To end the verse is the repeated question—"How Long?"—suggesting timelessness to when the injustice is to be rectified. Backing vocals of ooh-ooh (hints at sympathy) appear in this verse and Young's singing sounds more aggressive. Moreover, the hand-written lyrics in Appendix D that is reproduced from the CD liner notes shows that the next song's lyrics come right after "How long?" with an answer that might be:



I'm gonna give you till the  
morning comes  
I'm only waiting till the  
morning comes

This fifth song on the CD is extremely short at 1:17, so perhaps Young is answering his own lyrics from the end of "Southern Man." What "morning" might signify is left up to one's own interpretation. Simon Frith in "Songs as Texts" suggests "words matter to people...they are central to how pop songs are heard and evaluated" (159). However the lyrics are judged, music carries meaning.

The song returns to the chorus after a rousing guitar instrumental with a pounding piano and the continued drumming. In the last verse Neil Young continues to illustrate his song of the South with images of racial inequality. This time a white woman is involved in a tryst with a black man. Here when Young sings of "I," it must be a white racist who will surely kill her lover. A line from the second verse of "I heard screamin' and bullwhips cracking" is repeated along with the double "How long?" The song ends with a shortened guitar instrumental.

"Southern Man" is a raging rocker that pounds out its message. Even though Neil Young may have taken his impressions of the South from Reconstruction days after the American Civil War when racism was at its worst, the message continues to be relevant into the '60s and '70s. The popularity of Neil Young's music in the 70's is conflated with his image of political songwriter that leads to an understanding of the cultural context of this song.

#### 4.0. NEIL YOUNG'S "ALABAMA"

Two years later in 1972, Neil Young released the album *Harvest*, which became a best-selling album. He even garnered a #1 hit single, "Heart of Gold." There was an incredible lineup of backup singers that included James Taylor, Linda Ronstadt, and his ex-bandmates from CSNY. On two tracks, the London Symphony Orchestra was included. Young changed his backup band on this album in order to achieve a more country sound. He dubbed them The Stray Gators. The album was partially recorded in Nashville, Tennessee. One of the songs on the album is "Alabama" that may have been a carryover from *After the Gold Rush* or new thoughts on a familiar subject.

In "Southern Man," Neil Young used the title phrase to encompass southern white people. In "Alabama," he specifically targets a place in the South that he feels is guiltier than other states that propagate racial inequality. I argue that this song, even though it's not as forceful as "Southern Man" in its lyrics or musical beat, continues the idea of a social statement. In other words, Neil Young as auteur is combining his personal ideology through these songs in the early '70s, a time of social unrest in America especially the South. In his discussion of auteur or author/creator, Shuker asserts that auteurs can sell records "without necessarily enjoying high levels of commercial success" (116). He also adds, "Longevity can also lead to greater artistic recognition..." (116). Looking at Neil Young's persona, it "becomes central to the rhetorical action" (215) as Hart and Daughton believe when they write about "prominent authorial status" (215). Even if Young had not visited the South or experienced racial bigotry (long-haired men were also treated with disgust in the South), he would have been exposed to the phenomenon at the time through the media.

By looking closely at the words and listening to the music of "Alabama," I find that Young starts the song off not unlike "Southern Man" in which his guitar along with percussion and this time piano beat out the rhythm but much slower. The words, "Oh Alabama" come in softly like a lament or that Young was preaching. In this tune he doesn't point to the Bible but the devil. Young might be suggesting that even religion can be fooled by the devil because in the next line, the words begin with "Swing low," which probably refer to an African-American spiritual song, "Swing Low Sweet Chariot." From the fourth line, Neil Young's vocals intensify that moves into the chorus. The last lines in the first verse start to become more ambiguous. My interpretation of these lines is that the people of Alabama have the opportunity to create social harmony, but maybe it's difficult for them to institute change from their past history of racism.

The chorus is definitely aimed at Alabamans including a guilt connotation.

Alabama, you got the weight on your shoulders  
That's breaking your back.

Neil Young's voice continues to be piercing throughout the chorus. The next two lines are less obvious. Young sings about a Cadillac with one wheel in the ditch and the other on the road. I'd argue that Young sees some people in Alabama who are in the middle of the road not knowing which side to take

The third verse begins like the first and the last with "Oh Alabama." Again, the first two lines are sung slowly, and then from line three to six Young's singing quickens. The text of this verse has more vivid imagery like that of "Southern Man." Young's lyrics evoke violence against blacks as banjo music might be associated with African-Americans. Young describes the unseen people as "old folks tied in white ropes," which tell me they are somehow either physically or psychologically constrained.

Before the chorus returns, an instrumental begins with strong piano playing that leads into Young's guitar and the drumming. A solo guitar riff gets the song back to the four lines of the chorus. In the last verse, Neil Young places himself in the first person like he did in "Southern Man." He wishes to visit Alabama and meet some folks, although he doesn't state which color. The third line returns the intensity of Young's voice as he sings he's "from a new land" to check out this place in "ruin." Young ends the song with a couple of questions: "What are you doing Alabama?" even when they could be getting assistance in the form of guidance from their northern neighbors, and "What's going wrong?" The wrong is stretched for effect, and Young's guitar plays on fading out. I argue that Neil Young may have written this song as an elegy. He says to the people of Alabama that the racial situation could be resolved if people of all colors united.

## 5.0. LYNYRD SKYNYRD'S "SWEET HOME ALABAMA"

Lynyrd Skynyrd is an American Southern rock band often referred to as "the definitive" Southern rock band. They combine blues with rock and a rebellious Southern image. They performed using the Confederate flag as a background which many see as racist. They reached prominence during the 1970s, under the lead vocalist and primary songwriter Ronnie Van Zant, until his death in 1977. The band's triple-guitar attack became a signature sound that further developed their hard-driving blues-rock image.

In 1974 on their second album, Skynyrd's *Second Helping* produced a hit single, "Sweet Home Alabama." This song was labeled an answer song to Neil Young's "Southern Man" and "Alabama." Those two songs were critical of the South that have been discussed above. Besides being defensive, "Sweet Home Alabama" takes on the quality of celebration, thus it becoming an anthem. The song is also about a homecoming for the band. Lynyrd Skynyrd was a Florida-based band, and whether members were actually from Alabama or not, all were from the South.

Ronnie Van Zant, the proclaimed leader of the band, receives partial credit to writing "Sweet Home Alabama" along with two of the guitarists, Ed King and Gary Rossington. The song lyrics point at Neil Young's songs, which alleged racism and hypocrisy in the South's treatment of African-Americans. In response, Skynyrd's song is also viewed as racist by some. Others, such as John Orman, claim, "those were appropriate come-back lyrics for the southern band since 1974 was Boston's year as the 'Selma of the North'" (138). If Lynyrd Skynyrd thought that Neil Young was biased and being stereotypical in his outlook of the South, the forced busing in the North proved that they were justified in writing and singing "Sweet Home Alabama." At any rate, the song at times is ambiguous so that multiple meanings can be derived from analyzing the lyrics. Only in the second verse Van Zant and company have chosen to take their ire out on "ole Neil."

Well, I heard Mister Young sing about her  
Well, I heard ole Neil put her down  
Well, I hope Neil Young will remember  
A southern man don't need him around anyhow

After the first line above, by listening closely with headphones, Neil Young appears to sing the phrase “Southern Man” from his recording, or some of his fans say it’s Al Kooper, Lynyrd Skynyrd’s producer, impersonating Neil Young. From within this verse, when Lynyrd Skynyrd sings “her,” it refers to the South, and “Southern Man” refers to the song that Neil Young sings criticizing the people of the South. In other words, what Lynyrd Skynyrd might have been trying to suggest was that not all southerners are stereotypical “rednecks” who have no social consciousness. The other point to make here is that there is a shared relationship from a reference—this being Young’s “Southern Man”—meaning the listener must have heard or should listen to the song in order to come to their own conclusions regarding Neil Young’s message.

The musical instrument line-up is similar to Neil Young’s except for the triple threat guitar, but piano, percussion, and back-up singers are all there. “Sweet Home Alabama” begins with a bit of picking on one guitar then just as the rest thunder in with more sound, someone (Van Zant) speaks three words before the verse starts: “Turn it up!” He’s telling the listeners that this tune will be a rocking performance. This verse is written in the first person that tells a story of homesickness. The group hasn’t been home to Alabama for a while, possibly touring on the road.

There’s a bit of a guitar break then the second verse gets into the accusations. Here Neil Young is mentioned by name, not as a direct confrontation but indirectly. However, the last line, “A southern man don’t need him around anyhow” is more resentful. You can see Skynyrd perceives “a southern man” as plural not singular as they use “don’t” instead of doesn’t, or it may just be Southern vernacular.

The chorus begins with the title phrase, “Sweet Home Alabama” and constructs an idyllic place “where the skies are so blue.” The title phrase is repeated to emphasize the sweetness. Then the last line invokes either God or Alabama or both as the same.

The third verse is the most controversial in which Lynyrd Skynyrd brings up two infamous names in politics—George Wallace and Richard Nixon—who were at the time the governor of Alabama and the President of the United States respectively. The lyrics suggest support of Gov. Wallace who was a segregationist. On the other hand, after listening to the words, “In Birmingham they love the governor,” the back-up vocals of “boo boo boo or boo hoo hoo” are heard that hint at contempt or sorrow depending on your interpretation. In terms of sadness or mourning, this would have to relate to the Baptist church that was bombed in Birmingham in 1963 killing four young black girls. The following line does suggest that some Alabamans “did what [they] could do” about the racial situation. Lynyrd Skynyrd then turns the tables on either Neil Young or the country by these words:

Now Watergate does not bother me  
Does your conscience bother you?  
Tell the truth

This might indicate that Watergate is a northern problem; as in, we’ve got our problems but so do you. It could also mean that they don’t care, and to be honest, what about you? They then return to the refrain of “Sweet Home Alabama,” and add an additional line of “Here I come Alabama” to make sure you get the message—an instrumental break is next. There are some backing vocals during this interlude singing Alabama over and over.

In the fourth verse, Lynyrd Skynyrd takes us to “muscle shoals” that’s in northwestern Alabama where the “swampers” play music. Muscle Shoals during the ‘60s and ‘70s was known as the hit recording capital of the world, at least as proclaimed by the city. The Swampers, also known as MSRS (Muscle Shoals Rhythm Sound), were studio musicians who played backup for bands recording there. Their sound must have been a tonic to the souls of the Lynyrd Skynyrd band—they refer again to the “Lord” in the third line. Moreover, they were recently inducted into the Alabama Music Hall of Fame.

Another chorus sets up the last verse that begins with the refrain “Sweet Home Alabama.” More controversial lyrics crop up in this verse interspersed between the other lines from the chorus. After “Where the skies are so blue,” Wallace reenters in the line “And the governor’s true.” Does this support the segregationist meaning the governor is true to his word as in being against civil rights? To end the song with more God terms

as they return home to their sweet Alabama would have been enough, but Van Zant (?) yells out some unintelligible words. These are included in the lyrics so are written down: "Yea, yea Montgomery's got the answer." This dubious line is wrought with complexity. Montgomery is the capital of Alabama, the home of the governor. It also was the first Confederate capital, home of the Confederate flag and all the implications that image carries. Montgomery, during the height of civil rights unrest, was a major player along with Birmingham. Moreover, Martin Luther King marched from Selma to Montgomery in 1965, three years before his death. A little ragtime piano closes out the song.

## 6.0. CONCLUSION

The three songs presented in this essay maintain autonomy but are interdependent as well. These three texts are situated in the same era—the 1970s. Prior to this period, there were tumultuous times brewing in the South. The artist Neil Young was already considered a major political songwriter. He wrote "Southern Man" and "Alabama" within a couple of years of each other. Young may have generalized concerning the audience he wrote about, but he intended to keep the race issue alive after the killing of King and President Johnson signing the Civil Rights Act, both occurring in 1968. Neil Young claims in an interview from the biography, *Shakey*, that he wasn't preaching but "warning." He goes on to say: "'Southern Man' was an angry song. [It] was more than the South—I think the civil rights movement was sorta what that was about" (337). "It's not 'Southern Man'—it's 'White Man'" (338). What Young was saying there was that the issue was much larger than his song.

With the advent of Southern Rock and a born-again nationalism in the South, the quintessential yet controversial Lynyrd Skynyrd emerged onto the scene to rave reviews and fan popularity. They took up the cause to defend their motherland. Whether it was sincere or just a ploy to win more fans and appease MCA Records, Lynyrd Skynyrd's response to Neil Young's songs was fueled by the social attitudes and political messages that prevailed during the civil rights and anti-war movements. The political activism that sprung from those times were crusaded by some singer-songwriters. From time to time messages from certain songs "echo through society" (Hart 314), which in turn need to be answered. Frith also acknowledges that "[m]usic...provides us with an intensely subjective sense of being sociable" (273). Performers write music in order to articulate themselves while an audience experiences a "collective identity" (273). Neil Young can be seen as a rhetorician delivering a message of political awakening that focused on social injustices during a critical period in our nation's history. Lynyrd Skynyrd was simply answering Neil Young with a powerful song—a retort that summed up what the southern man thought about Mr. Young's songs.

## 7.0. APPENDICES

### 7.1. Appendix A

Neil Young — "Southern Man"

Southern man better keep your head  
Don't forget what your good book said  
Southern change gonna come at last  
Now your crosses are burning fast  
Southern man

I saw cotton and I saw black  
Tall white mansions and little shacks.  
Southern man when will you pay them back?  
I heard screamin' and bullwhips cracking  
How long? how long?

Southern man better keep your head  
Don't forget what your good book said  
Southern change gonna come at last  
Now your crosses are burning fast  
Southern man

Lily belle, your hair is golden brown  
I've seen your black man comin' round  
Swear by God I'm gonna cut him down!  
I heard screamin' and bullwhips cracking  
How long? how long?

## 7.2. Appendix B

Neil Young – “Alabama”

Oh Alabama  
The devil fools  
with the best laid plan.  
Swing low Alabama  
You got spare change  
You got to feel strange  
And now the moment  
is all that it meant.

Alabama, you got  
the weight on your shoulders  
That's breaking your back.  
Your Cadillac  
has got a wheel in the ditch  
And a wheel on the track

Oh Alabama  
Banjos playing  
through the broken glass  
Windows down in Alabama.  
See the old folks  
tied in white ropes  
Hear the banjo.  
Don't it take you down home?

Alabama, you got  
the weight on your shoulders  
That's breaking your back.  
Your Cadillac  
has got a wheel in the ditch  
And a wheel on the track

Oh Alabama.  
Can I see you  
and shake your hand.  
Make friends down in Alabama.  
I'm from a new land  
I come to you  
and see all this ruin  
What are you doing Alabama?  
You got the rest of the union  
to help you along  
What's going wrong?

**7.3. Appendix C**

Lynyrd Skynyrd — “Sweet Home Alabama”  
(Ed King - Ronnie VanZant - Gary Rossington)

Big wheels keep on turning  
Carry me home to see my kin  
Singing songs about the southland  
I miss Alabama once again  
And I think it's a sin, yes

Well I heard mister young sing about her  
Well, I heard ole neil put her down  
Well, I hope neil young will remember  
A southern man don't need him around anyhow

Sweet home Alabama  
Where the skies are so blue  
Sweet home Alabama  
Lord, I'm coming home to you

In Birmingham they love the governor  
Now we all did what we could do  
Now watergate does not bother me  
Does your conscience bother you?  
Tell the truth

Sweet home Alabama  
Where the skies are so blue  
Sweet home Alabama  
Lord, I'm coming home to you  
Here I come Alabama

Now muscle shoals has got the swampers  
And they've been known to pick a song or two  
Lord they get me off so much  
They pick me up when I'm feeling blue  
Now how about you?  
Sweet home Alabama  
Where the skies are so blue  
Sweet home Alabama  
Lord, I'm coming home to you

Sweet home Alabama  
Oh sweet home baby  
Where the skies are so blue  
And the governor's true  
Sweet home Alabama  
Lordy  
Lord, I'm coming home to you  
Yea, yea Montgomery's got the answer

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# LA PRESENCE FEMININE DANS LE PREMIER LIVRE DES *ESSAIS* DE MONTAIGNE

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## ABSTRACT

In the *Essais* of 16<sup>th</sup> century French writer Michel de Montaigne, there is a notable feminine presence. Criticized by some as misogynistic and lauded by others as pro-woman, Montaigne has been perceived as both a friend and foe to the image of Renaissance era women. This study concludes that women are held in high esteem by Montaigne, yet he still considers them in some ways inferior. Through the analysis of Montaigne's *Essais*, it can be concluded that both sentiments exist simultaneously, and that Montaigne can be perceived as more traditional in some areas concerning feminine image while progressive in others.

Dans *les Essais* et dans la vie de Michel Eyquem de Montaigne, les femmes jouent plusieurs rôles essentiels. Les mères donnent la vie, les amantes et les épouses donnent du plaisir, et les femmes dans la société française, et dans d'autres cultures, rendent la vie plus intéressante. Ces femmes sont quelques exemples des femmes qui occupent les pensées de Montaigne et qui animent les pages de ses essais. Pour Montaigne, les femmes varient entre le rôle de créatrices indispensables de la vie, et le rôle d'êtres humains qui ne sont pas capables de participer dans l'institution de l'amitié. En analysant les multiples rôles des femmes dans le premier livre des essais de Montaigne, on peut mieux comprendre la signification des femmes dans la vie de l'auteur.

On peut voir Montaigne comme sexiste et misogyne. Il dit dans ses essais que les femmes sont au même niveau que les hommes « je dis que les masles et femelles sont jettez en mesme moule »<sup>1</sup> mais sa réputation, selon Abraham Keller ci-dessous, en dit autrement.

Was it not a bit contradictory for him to state that the difference [between men and women] was slight, all the while smacking his lips and ogling in the best sexist manner? In modern terms, it would be like a man supporting Equal Rights but treating women as playthings and sex objects.<sup>2</sup>

Dans l'essai 1.14, « Que le goust des biens et des maux depend en bonne partie de l'opinion que nous en avons », Montaigne utilise l'exemple des femmes brûlées à la mort de leurs maris. Cette histoire tirée par Montaigne du texte *Histoire du Portugal* de Simon Goulart, montre la dévotion que ces femmes possèdent à l'égard de leurs maris. « Toutes autres femmes sont brûlées vives non constamment seulement, mais gaïement aux funerailles de leurs maris. »<sup>3</sup> Ce geste de fidélité des femmes peut être analysé comme le sacrifice ultime, mais bien que ces femmes soient vertueuses, leurs vies n'ont aucune valeur sans leurs époux.

Plus tard dans le même essai, les femmes se détruisent à travers le maquillage et la mode. A travers la poudre (pleine de plomb), l'ingestion du sable, et les corsets qui sont si serrés qu'ils pourraient tuer, les femmes sont esclaves de la beauté. « Pour faire un corps bien espaignolé, quelle geine ne souffrent elles guindées et sanglées, à tout de grosses coches sur les costez, jusques à la chair vive ? Ouy quelques fois à en mourir. »<sup>4</sup> Montaigne reconnaît ici que les femmes souffrent pour l'institution sociale de la beauté.

Montaigne explore l'idée que les femmes sont préoccupées avec par le sexe masculin. Dans l'essai 1.21, il raconte l'histoire d'une jeune femme qui se transforme en homme en sautant trop fort. Le pénis de Marie Germain, qui se croyait une fille jusqu'à ce point, est sorti de son corps d'une manière légendaire. Les autres filles du village se souviennent de cette transformation plusieurs années plus tard, et elles craignent que la même chose puisse leur arriver. Montaigne implique ici que les filles sont mentalement fixées au pénis, autant que ce qui est arrivé à Marie Germain peut se passer facilement et que c'est un événement qui est causé par l'imagination et la concentration au pénis.

Ce n'est pas tant de merveille que cette sorte d'accident se rencontre frequent ; car si l'imagination peut en telles choses, elle est si continuellement et si vigoureusement attachée à ce sujet, que, pour n'avoir si souvent à rechoir en mesme pensée et aspreté de desir, elle a meilleur compte d'incorporer, une fois pour toutes, cette virile partie aux filles.<sup>5</sup>



On peut analyser ces mots de Montaigne comme un petit morceau de féminisme, parce que les filles ici trouvent l'idée de devenir un homme si choquant et si grotesque qu'elles font très attention quand elles marchent pour ne pas devenir homme. Si la vie d'un homme était tellement mieux que la vie d'une femme, il y aurait probablement plusieurs filles qui voudraient changer de sexe et feraient n'importe quoi pour forcer le pénis à sortir. Si ces femmes gardent et chérissent leur féminité, on peut dire qu'il y a une valeur importante impartie au sexe féminin.

Dans le même essai (1.21), Montaigne utilise l'impuissance sexuelle de l'homme comme thème central. L'imagination et le pouvoir des pensées, selon Montaigne, rendent l'homme impuissant à participer dans l'acte sexuel. Mais la psychologie de l'impuissance n'est pas seulement la responsabilité de l'homme, c'est aussi la femme qui doit aider à résoudre ce problème mental.

Or elles ont tort de nous recueillir de ces constances mineuses, querelleuses et fuyardes, qui nous esteignent en nous allumant. La bru de Pythagoras disoit que la femme qui se couche avec un homme, doit avec la cotte laisser aussi la honte, et la reprendre avec le cotillon.<sup>6</sup>

Ici, Montaigne ne donne pas les mêmes droits sexuels aux femmes qu'il donne aux hommes. C'est un passage très intéressant à analyser, parce qu'il donne ici le pouvoir à la femme, mais il veut la mettre dans une position d'infériorité à travers les caprices et les besoins de l'homme. Elle domine la situation, parce qu'elle possède le pouvoir d'écraser la sexualité fragile de son partenaire, et de ce point de vu elle est forte. Mais Montaigne exprime à travers cette citation de Plutarque que les femmes devraient donner leurs corps à l'homme quand elles se conduisent d'une manière provocante. A la fin, c'est l'homme qui possède le « phallus » et la femme qui reste inférieure à lui.

Montaigne thinks love good for both body and soul; it keeps us vigorous and delays the seizures of old age. In his opinion, everybody is vividly and constantly aware of sex; it is as important to people as their daily bread.<sup>7</sup>

Dans le même essai, Montaigne présente l'image de la femme comme crédule. Quand elle avale une épingle, l'homme qui en la forçant à vomir, met une autre épingle tordue dans le vomi, devient le héros. Tout de suite la femme se sent mieux.

Un habil'homme, ayant jugé que ce n'estoit que fantasie et opinion, prise de quelque morceau de pain qui l'avoit piquée en passant, la fit vomir et jetta à la desrobée, dans ce qu'elle rendit, une esplingue tordue. Cette femme, cuidant l'avoir rendue, se sentit soudain discharged de sa douleur.<sup>8</sup>

On peut interpréter cette citation comme une espèce d'égalité, parce que le chapitre consiste en des exemples d'hommes qui sont physiquement affligés par leurs imaginations. Ici, Montaigne exprime le pouvoir de l'imagination sur cette femme. La première fois qu'on le lit, on pense peut-être qu'il met la femme à un niveau plus bas que l'homme. Mais elle devient égale dans sa crédulité. Donc on peut l'analyser du point de vue que Montaigne met la femme au même niveau que l'homme, bien que ce niveau soit peut-être bas.

Montaigne montre de temps en temps dans son œuvre une grande estime pour les femmes. Avec la dédicace de certains essais à quelques femmes, il leur donne un sens de hauteur. Il dédie son essai « De l'institution des enfans » (1.26) à son amie Madame Diane de Foix, Comtesse de Gurson. Dans cet essai, il lui donne des conseils pour l'enfant qui va naître. Ce n'est pas le seul essai dédié à une femme (il dédie « Apologie de Raymond Sebond » (2.12) son essai le plus long, à Marguerite de Valois), mais c'est important parce qu'on peut analyser cette dédicace comme le fait qu'il donne une grande importance aux femmes. Ses pensées peuvent être les choses qui lui sont les plus chères, donc les dédier à une femme est une geste immense. Il l'adresse directement aussi dans son essai, comme « Madame », et il l'adresse plusieurs fois. « Madame, c'est un grand ornement que la science, et un outil de merveilleux service, notamment aux personnes élevées en tel degré de fortune, comme vous estes. »<sup>9</sup> Avec la dédicace et l'adresse directe, Montaigne montre son respect pour ses « amies » féminines.

The *Essays* do contain several dedications and asides to women. In fact, the only chapters to address specific people are those directed toward women- no essays are dedicated to men and no (living) males are pinpointed as the reason a specific essay was written.<sup>10</sup>

Il y a peut-être un côté masculin de sa dédicace ici. Quand Montaigne écrit cet essai, Madame de Foix est enceinte (d'un fils héritier, ainsi qu'elle le souhaitait) et Montaigne s'adresse vraiment au futur du fils qu'il n'aura jamais. L'importance de ce geste est qu'il enlève la signifiante qu'il donne aux femmes et il la met dans l'idée de son fils imaginaire. Donc, bien qu'il parle directement à Madame de Foix dans cet essai, le vrai but est l'éducation et l'édification du fils de cette femme. On peut noter ici aussi que l'éducation est réservée seulement aux garçons, parce qu'à l'époque, les filles ne sont pas éduquées sauf par leurs mères, une idée perpétuée par les croyances des hommes comme Montaigne.

Montaigne carried on a considerable campaign in his essays against education for women. Since women are weak and learning is harmful in weak minds, little learning should be expected or demanded of them.<sup>11</sup>

The essay on the education of children, (I, 26), apart from a single dismissive phrase, devotes not a single word to the education of girls. Addressing the pregnant Comtesse Gurson, his kinswoman, Montaigne assures her that she is too "genereuse" to have as her first child anything but a boy. It is an odd bit of confidence in a man who had begotten five consecutive girls (out of an ultimate total of six).<sup>12</sup>

Dans la citation d'Adams ci-dessus, l'ironie de la situation familiale de Montaigne est apparente. Il y a un esprit patriarcal universel au seizième siècle, donc ce n'est pas surprenant qu'il soit entouré par les femmes mais qu'il donne plus de valeur aux hommes.

Dans son essai « De l'amitié » (I.28), Montaigne semble plutôt anti-femme. Ici, il exclut les femmes de l'amitié, en disant qu'elles ne sont pas capables d'être de bonnes amies. Il considère l'amour sexuel et l'amour entre deux amis deux choses complètement séparées et il ne voit pas la possibilité de l'amitié maritale. « D'y comparer l'affection envers les femmes, quoy qu'elle naisse de nostre choix, on ne peut, ny la loger en ce rolle. »<sup>13</sup> Montaigne parle de l'amour entre un enfant et son père, mais il exclut les mères ici, et il dit que ce n'est jamais de l'amitié, c'est seulement du respect. « Des enfans aux peres, c'est plutost respect. »<sup>14</sup> Il est intéressant de noter que dans son œuvre, Montaigne écrit beaucoup sur son père mais rien sur sa mère. « Il nous reste à découvrir pourquoi Montaigne a souvent parlé de son père, surtout après la mort de celui-ci, et est resté silencieux quant à sa mère. »<sup>15</sup> Peut-être Montaigne met sa mère dans la même catégorie où il met les femmes en général : dans une position inférieure aux hommes.

La plus grande insulte aux femmes ici est qu'elles ne sont prétendument pas spirituellement capables d'entrer dans l'amitié.

Joint qu'à dire vray, la suffisance ordinaire des femmes n'est pas pour respondre à cette conference et communication, nourrisse de cette sainte couture ; ny leur ame ne semble assez ferme pour soustenir l'estreinte d'un nœud si pressé et si durable. Et certes, sans cela, s'il se pouvoit dresser une telle accointance, libre et volontaire, où non seulement les ames eussent cette entiere jouyssance, mais encores où les corps eussent part à l'alliance, où l'homme fust engagé tout entier, il est certain que l'amitié en seroit plus pleine et plus comble. Mais ce sexe par nul exemple n'y est encore peu arriver, et par le commun consentement des escholes anciennes en est rejezté.<sup>16</sup>

Montaigne attaque directement ici la valeur et la capacité des femmes, et il les insulte encore plus en disant que les anciens ne croient pas que les femmes puissent être de bonnes amies et qu'il n'y a aucun exemple d'une femme qui puisse prouver qu'ils ont tort. Avec cette exclusion directe des femmes de l'amitié, il apparaît que Montaigne n'est pas exactement en faveur de l'égalité des femmes. Il est antithétique si on considère l'importance qu'il donne aux femmes dans les autres parties de ses essais. Que les femmes soient capables d'aimer, mais pas capables d'être des amies, c'est bien misogynie de la part Montaigne.

Nous y lisons que l'infériorité de la femme est une donnée de nature et, en même temps, qu'elle résulte d'une différence d'éducation, de milieu ; nous rencontrons un discours généralement malveillant pour le beau sexe et, au milieu de propos qui font écho au courant misogynie le plus traditionnel, le plus ordinaire, nous butons sur des déclarations audacieusement novatrices lorsqu'il s'agit de la sexualité féminine.<sup>17</sup>

En donnant les qualités de l'omniprésence et de la splendeur à la nature, Montaigne semble respecter encore le sexe féminin. Dans l'essai 1.31, « Des cannibales », il fait référence à la féminité de la nature.

«Ce n'est pas raison que l'art gagne le point d'honneur sur nostre grand et puissante mere nature. Nous avons tant rechargé la beauté et richesse de ses ouvrages par nos inventions, que nous l'avons du tout estouffée. Si est-ce que, par tout où sa pureté reluit, elle fait une merveilleuse honte à nos vaines et frivoles entreprinses.<sup>18</sup>

Ici, Montaigne retourne à l'idée de la femme puissante à travers la nature. Dans cette personnification de la nature comme femme, il illustre la femme comme la source de la vie, comme Eve, et la créatrice de la beauté. Il exprime aussi une opinion selon laquelle l'humanité, l'homme, a détruit la gloire naturelle de la nature (la femme) et il reconnaît la beauté naturelle qui reste. A travers cette métaphore de la nature, Montaigne semble donner une importance profonde aux femmes. D'être si proche de Dieu, comme est la nature, est un grand compliment à la féminité.

Parmi les « sauvages » dans l'essai 1.31, la société où habitent les femmes est décrite comme très patriarcale. « Une partie des femmes s'amusent cependant à chauffer leur breuvage, qui est leur principal office. »<sup>19</sup> Les femmes des tribus cannibales sont essentiellement serviteurs des hommes. Les actions des femmes dans ces tribus préservent bien la nature patriarcale, elles connaissent bien leurs rôles et elles servent diligemment leurs hommes.

Les femmes de ces tribus soutiennent aussi la polygamie des hommes, et elles semblent, selon Montaigne, aimer trouver d'autres femmes pour leurs maris.

Les hommes y ont plusieurs femmes, et en ont d'autant plus grand nombre qu'ils sont en meilleure reputation de vaillance ; c'est une beauté remarquable en leurs mariages, que la mesme jalousie que nos femmes ont pour nous empescher de l'amitié et bien-veillance d'autres femmes, les leurs l'ont toute pareille pour la leur acquérir. Estans plus soigneuses de l'honneur de leurs maris que de toute autre chose, elles cherchent et mettent leur sollicitude à avoir le plus des compaignes qu'elles peuvent, d'autant que c'est un tesmoignage de la vertu du mary.<sup>20</sup>

On peut ressentir que Montaigne s'intéresse à ce style de vie à travers ses mots ici. Comme les femmes françaises sont jalouses, les femmes tribales sont des partisans de la polygamie. « Elles ne se sentent pas, selon [Montaigne] opprimées par la pratique de la polygamie. »<sup>21</sup> Mais est-ce que les femmes sont vraiment plus puissantes en plus grandes nombres, ou est-ce qu'elles ont plus de pouvoir dans une union fermée ? La différence ici est bien profonde et culturelle, et Montaigne exprime qu'il est difficile de comparer les deux puisqu'elles sont fondamentalement différentes. On peut argumenter des deux côtés en discutant du niveau de pouvoir des femmes dans les deux situations.

Dans les *Essais* de Montaigne, les femmes jouent plusieurs rôles. Elles sont des mères, des amantes, des cannibales ou des épouses. Elles sont la personnification de la nature et coupables de l'impuissance sexuelle des hommes. Pour Montaigne, les femmes sont de valeur et insignifiantes en même temps. Elles sont nécessaires et capables de créer la vie, mais elles ne sont pas vraiment capables d'être de bonnes amies. S'il donne des conseils aux femmes, comme à Madame Diane de Foix, ou s'il les réduit à l'état d'objets sexuels, il semble que malgré les rôles extrêmes des femmes, elles sont essentielles aux essais de Michel de Montaigne. Sans les femmes, ces essais seraient incomplets, et ce sont les femmes qui sont éternellement liées à Montaigne et à son œuvre.

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# ESCRIBIENDO DE ESAS MUJERES: FEMINISTAS EN *LA VIUDA DEL PANAMA*

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## ABSTRACT

This creative writing excerpt from Maria Herrera's novel in progress *La Viuda del Panamá* explores the life of three female characters living in Nombre de Dios, a sixteenth century town in Panama. These three female characters defy the social, racial, and patriarchal structures which impose subservient roles on them.

Un problema para una escritora feminista Latinoamericana es que no encuentra novelas con personajes femeninos que desafían el patriarcado. La escritora feminista encuentra una dicotomía falsa originada en las telenovelas de las seis de la tarde. Esta dicotomía divide los personajes femeninos en dos categorías: la Buena y la Mala. La Buena es joven, de clase baja, virgen o "entregada" al hombre de su vida por amor. La Mala es promiscua, rica, creída, y tan eficiente como persiguidora del hombre de la vida de la buena que termina acostándose con él. No ahondaré en lo inútil que es remarcar como un hombre no se deja "agarrar" por otra mujer o como una mujer adinerada es perseguida y no persiguidora. Me basta decir que, en el lenguaje de otra escritora costarricense, "la buena es la que se acuesta por tonta; la mala es la que se acuesta por viva."

Descarté esa dicotomía que plaga textos latinoamericanos como *Doña Barbara*, *La Negra Angustias*, *El Moto* y otros más modernos porque me aburrí de leer acerca de mujeres fuertes perdidas en la sabana o en relaciones abusivas. Por eso se me ocurrió una historia de mujeres fuertes, ricas, avariciosas, tercas, crueles y, al mismo tiempo, decentes. En una palabra, una historia de mujeres que, a pesar de la época y la presión social, hacen lo que quieren.

La primera de estas mujeres es Micaela, una india estancada en la clase baja de la sociedad colonial panameña que, sin saber escribir, desestabiliza la incipiente esclavitud de Nombre de Dios:

Ni aquel otro sendero trezándose en empinadas gradas ni la fuente a la que conducía habían sido obra de don Rogelio Venegas. Tales hazañas se repetían a veces en el mismo siglo; pero Nombre de Dios sólo había visto en su historia la gloria de un capitán judío. Las mentadas obras, en cambio, habían sido construidas por orden de don José Arcaya y Ponce, un arzobispo madrileño que, haciendo escala en aquel pueblo por los años de Albítez, había caído enfermo de fiebres. Curado casi de milagro por una india Micaela, Arcaya había decidido recompensar a su salvadora haciéndole una fuente sobre el ojo de agua en el que ella se bañaba cada mañana. Claro, si alguien le hubiera preguntado a la india lo que *ella* quería, su recompensa habría sido muy diferente. Pero todavía eran los tiempos de la Colonia; todavía los colonizadores juraban que ellos más que nadie sabían lo que le convenía a América y a su gente. Y Arcaya, a pesar de estar muy apegado al Nuevo Mundo, no dejaba de ser hombre de su época.

Con tal limitación, su Ilustrísima nunca supo vislumbrar que, importando veinticinco esclavos desde Santo Domingo para construir la dichosa fuente, iniciaba el negocio más oscuro de la Santa Iglesia en Nombre de Dios. Y es que, después de terminar aquellas obras, ¿qué iban a hacer aquellos desgraciados? Revenderlos no pagaba ni el importe de su viaje y liberarlos les autorizaba a perder el día en ociosidades. Al único sacristán del puerto se le ocurrió entonces asociarse con el gobernador para alquilarle a un incipiente cabildo la mano de obra de los veinticinco africanos. Pero si aquellos esclavos bastaban para construir cuatro calles, no eran suficientes para una sala de cabildo, para una iglesia nueva o para las bodegas de un muelle que aún no se alzaba en la bahía. Y si se pensaba en los vecinos solicitando la labor de los africanos para mejorar sus haciendas, el número de hombres que habrían de importarse llegaba a la centena. ¿Y qué mejor idea que traer más de aquellos desdichados a una vida cristiana en Nombre de Dios?

Por dicha y gracias a Dios, la misma india Micaela que había salvado a Su Ilustrísima tuvo suficiente presencia de ánimo para dictar una larga carta explicándole hacia donde se encaminaba tan solapado negocio y rogándole enderezar aquel entuerto. Su ruego fue contestado. Arcaya mandó a Nombre de Dios a Sebastián Carrasquilla, un sacerdote franciscano con fama de nunca cerrar la boca a la hora de denunciar barbaridades y de su reporte se sacó en claro que el sacristán iba de vuelta a España para verselas con sus superiores, que de los veinticinco esclavos, quince habían muerto en condiciones míseras y que los dineros recolectados en tan sucio negocio habían comprado libertad y tierra a los diez africanos sobrevivientes. Por su parte, el gobernador implicado se justificó diciendo que el servicio

prestado por la Santa Iglesia a Nombre de Dios había suplido la falta de mano de obra causada por la escasez de indios. En todo caso, tanta bulla alzó aquel reporte y con tanto empeño reclamó Arcaya que a principios de 1526 veía la luz en el Palacio de Carlos V una cédula real que autorizaba a cualquier esclavo africano a adquirir una carta de libertad por medio de rescate.

Se ve en esta sección como una mujer de casta baja influencia un hombre que posee autoridad para eliminar una injusticia. Y aunque se podría decir que Micaela no cambia el sistema social que la subyuga, ella lo manipula para promover la libertad. A pesar de ser ficticia, la narrativa incluye un personaje femenino que posee poder político.

A nivel social, el personaje que refleja más la independencia exigida por la filosofía feminista (sea de la este siglo o del Renacimiento) es María Isabel:

Pendiente siempre de aquello ocurría a su alrededor, María Isabel se había dado cuenta desde muy temprana edad que el hábito más sagrado para las mujeres de su pueblo era una pérdida de alma y sosiego para ella y que la mayoría de las ideas que asimismo ellas nombraban benditas resultaban estériles en su cabeza. Y es que don Cayetano, encontrándose de un pronto a otro con una hija ajena a quien debía cuidar como propia, le había enseñado desde chiquilla a entusiasmarse por las ideas nuevas, por el escrutinio de las viejas y por cuanto francachela que sonara a política corrupta de la Corona. Lo que el pobre anciano jamás se había podido imaginar era que Isabel adoptaría aquella misma actitud tan poco usual en una mujer ante cualquier dilema y que la mentalidad simple de aquel pueblito panameño se le haría a su ahijada estrecha hasta el hastío.

Discreta por naturaleza, la niña había sabido callar su rebeldía. Sin mucho aspaviento, había crecido dejando creer a quien se le opusiera lo que se le antojara, pero a la hora de tomar partido, hacía lo que se le venía en gana. La mocosa había logrado así disimular su carácter difícil, pero a los catorce años, cuando su tía había decidido hacerla mesonera en la posada, Isabel no había podido esconder más su naturaleza hurafía. Ya antes de trabajar en “La Costeña”, a la muchacha se le había hecho bastante difícil no soltarle una barbaridad a los pretendientes cuyo único objetivo era robarse un beso para pavonearlo luego en la plaza. Bien sabía ella que aquellos incautos, embebidos en pura vanidad, no veían más que adoración en sus pupilas y se figuraban sus silencios hechos de inocencia confiada. Dejarles creer lo que quisieran y después darles de calabazas en aquella misma plaza, a ojo y paciencia de todos los vecinos, era más provechoso que armar un escándalo.

Más de mesonera en “La Costeña”—un local al cual no llegaba siempre gente de bien—Isabel ya no había tenido escogencia: para quitarse de encima a los fulanos que se preciaban de avispados, la muchacha había tenido que darle voz a su carácter arisco. Y los desaires que alimentaban la avidez de quienes no tenían que hacer en Nombre de Dios habían empezado a hacer estragos en la posada. Que si tal semana la sobrina de don Cayetano le había dado la comida fría al contraamaestre de “La Perla” por pedante; que al reclamar el marinero, ella le había respondido, con la mayor altanería, que si se le antojaba comer comida caliente, debía meter la cabeza en el horno a ver si sus pocos sesos le servían de algo cocidos. Que a la siguiente semana, la muchacha le había vaciado un balde de agua helada a un pasajero de “El Santiago” por un piropo colorado y, que al ser reprendida por el compañero del fulano, ella había replicado muy tranquilamente que tamañas sandeces solo se decían en el delirio de alguna fiebre cerebral y que un baldazo de agua era el mejor remedio para tales males.

Lo peor del caso era que en lugar de espantarse, los admiradores seguían apareciendo. Los vecinos de Nombre de Dios se preguntaban cual podía ser el atractivo de una mocosa de catorce años, esmirriada y chichosa, con la boca tan llena de insultos como la de una bruja decrepita; pero María Isabel estaba muy al corriente del porque de su encanto. Sentada frente al fogón en la cocina de “La Costeña”, saboreando su escudilla de guiso de lentejas y patas de cerdo, la chiquilla había adivinado con un poco de tiento y mucho ojo que un hombre se enardecía no tanto por la sumisión que las doñas de Nombre de Dios (¡ah, inocentes!) creían el mayor atractivo de sus hijas, sino por aquella misma rebeldía que ella tan bien se había guardado. Bastaba que una mujer decidiese no tragarse las mentiras de un alevoso para que aparecieran otros seis deshaciéndose en ganas de perderla.

Quisiera haber sido tan avispada a mis catorce años como este personaje para poder decir (con orgullo perverso) que tanta malacrianza no podía ser más que propia. Hubiéramos tenido una discusión apasionante sobre teoría psicoanalítica literaria. Estaría yo hablando de Freud y el feminismo ni siquiera me habría pasado por la cabeza para escribir mi novela. Pero la malacrianza de mi herofna tiene nombre y apellido: los de mi abuelita.

Así como ella en su juventud hubiera rechazado a cualquier hombre abusivo, María Isabel rechaza una relación que podría tener una connotación de acoso dentro del contexto social de la Colonia. Pretendida por un oficial de la Corona, haciendo a un lado la ventaja económica que un matrimonio con un hombre adinerado le daría, Isabel dice

--No, [ . . . ] más he de ser yo quien os ofenda.

--¿Perdonad?

--Sí, --continuó la muchacha, con las pupilas chispeándole de una manera que don Pedro sólo de oídas conocía, --Bien sabéis vos...

--¿Qué he de saber yo, criatura?

--Que vos sois oficial de la Corona—le reprochó ella con los labios hechos una línea amarga, --y yo ... yo—los ojos de la muchacha se habían vuelto una poza sin fondo. --¡Poco ha de importar lo que yo sea!—logró decir finalmente. --Por más que me acariciéis la mano en medio del cementerio, don Pedro, por más que se os vayan los ojos detrás de mí a la salida de misa, yo sé que no pinto *nada* en este cuento.

--¡Pero Isabel ...!

--Bien avisado estáis—terminó advirtiéndole con un dedo moreno alzándose amenazador frente a su rostro pálido--si os pezcó haciendome ronda de nuevo, os exponéis a más de un desaire.

Con este gesto, la heroína rechaza no sólo las pretensiones de un hombre considerado buen partido en la sociedad colonial de Nombre de Dios, sino que también demuestra como una mujer rechaza la dependencia económica a la que la sometería un matrimonio de este tipo. Isabel se puede dar el lujo de rechazar a don Pedro porque ella será la propietaria de la posada de sus tíos. Ella rechaza entonces la posición social superior que le daría un matrimonio con un colonizador adinerado y escoje la independencia económica.

También el feminismo se expresa en esta novela en la relación de un individuo de clase inferior con otro de clase alta. Como a las mujeres latinoamericanas se nos indica día y noche que la falta de respeto es el peor crimen que uno pueda cometer contra una figura masculina, para mí es ideal representar una tendencia egalitaria en la relación que Salina, una esclava de nueve años, tiene con su amo don Pedro. El hecho de que tal tendencia sea socialmente disruptiva se agrava porque Salina es mujer. Esta tendencia se ve en la escena donde Salina pierde el equilibrio por tratar de hacer la reverencia a don Pedro:

--Es que ... --trató de explicar—abuela ha dicho que debía haceros la reverencia cuando ...

--¡Qué va! Si todavía estáis muy chica para esos malabares.

--Pero abuela ...

--Nada,—la contradijo él.--No hacéis la reverencia hasta que estéis más grande.

--Bueno,--aceptó ella, apretando los labios recelosa—más si me regañan...

--Ah, no os preocupéis—le prometió don Pedro con un guiño—de eso me encargo yo.

Aquí el respeto que Salina le debería tener a don Pedro no existe: a pesar de que ella es esclava del oficial de la Corona, Salina le habla como si fuera miembro de su círculo familiar. Aunque ella acepta las reglas sociales, Salina las descarta apenas se da la oportunidad—cuando don Pedro le autoriza no hacer la reverencia, ella le habla como si fuera un cómplice en lugar de su amo.

Puedo decir como conclusión que escribir una historia en la que las mujeres descartan reglas sociales opresivas es solo el principio de una realidad que se ha querido colar en la literatura latinoamericana desde que Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz tomó su pluma. Y aunque yo nunca seré tan buena escritora como la décima musa, pretendo que todas mis lectoras pasen un buen rato leyendo como otras mujeres se apropian de su libertad en el sistema patriarcal de la América colonial del siglo XVI.



# TIME TO GET REAL GONE ON BURKE'S PENTADIC MYSTERY TRAIN

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## ABSTRACT

Supported by guitarist Scotty Moore, bassist Bill Black, and at the behest of studio founder Sam Phillips, Elvis Presley returned, in July 1954, to Sun Records in Memphis, Tennessee, for a third attempt at recording. The session's third song—"That's All Right (Mama)"—likely changed the face of popular music and culture in America. By linking this defining primacy with the use of rhetorician Kenneth Burke's investigative *Pentad* and its five "relationships" concerning human motivation/symbolic action—*Act*, *Scene*, *Agent*, *Agency*, *Purpose*, and an eventual sixth, *Attitude*—this paper fashions an inquisition into Presley's rise as a musical and cultural icon.

## 1.0. INTRODUCTION: THE LINER NOTES

"It was an explosion, and standing over it was Elvis." (Marcus 145)

Elvis Presley returned, on July 5, 1954, to the Sun Records Studio on 706 Union Avenue in Memphis, Tennessee, at the behest of studio founder and producer Sam Phillips for another attempt at recording, this time with the support of guitarist Scotty Moore and stand-up bassist Bill Black. The third song recorded at this four-sided session—"That's All Right" (Jorgensen 12)—the Arthur "Big Boy" Crudup-penned blues--most likely changed the face of not only popular music, but popular culture (in America, and eventually, the world) forever. By linking this defining primacy, "[this] rockabilly moment" (Marcus 141) (others would say "country blues," played by white musicians), with the use of twentieth-century rhetorician Kenneth Burke's investigative *Pentad*—its five provisional situation "relationships" concerning human motivation in symbolic action—*Act*, *Scene*, *Agent*, *Agency*, *Purpose* (*Grammar* xv) (and an eventual, but not entirely inclusive sixth, *Attitude*—thereby the potential creation of a *Hexad* [Burke, *Dramatism* 23])—as well as his conceptual theory of *dramatism* (analyzing language and thought [through drama] as modes of action rather than as means of conveying information), this paper explores the maiden ascendancy, and the succeeding influence of Elvis Presley during his eighteen months (1954-1955) as a recording artist for Phillips' Sun Records label.

Specifically, Burke's pentadic philosophy underscores the need to understand or interpret human behavior, to interpret rhetoric as action, and to realize that all acts are, by nature, rhetorical, i.e., a persuasion to motivate. As a result, the application of the pentadic structure to the salient moment when Presley's musical elocution, when "That's All Right" was realized by visionary Sam Phillips, allows for an explanation, and for a signification of how a culture, through a musical phenomenon named Elvis Presley, was motivated, through action, to change thought processes (good and bad) on racism and politics, loosen social mores, wear different clothes, and originate a new music/pop culture--while simultaneously rejecting a current adult mainstream culture to create a new lifestyle with an enormous focus on a *youth* culture. As such, this musical preponderance, much like Burke's regard for literature as "equipment for living" (*Literary Form* 293), not only steered the general population to a whole other social existence, but also furnished strategies for dealing with recurrent (social) situations (Burke, *Literary Form* 296-7). Presley's rise to iconic pop-culture status not only reflected a rebellious teenaged-enlightenment, but also originated a musical style ("rock 'n roll") that was melded from a plethora of disparate cultural and ethnic influences: gospel, rhythm and blues, jump swing, boogie-woogie, blues, bluegrass, and country.

Burke opens his text, *A Grammar of Motives*, with the question: "What is involved, when we say what people are doing and why they are doing it?" (xv). Indeed, Burke's claims that "any complete statement about motives will offer *some kind of* answers to these five questions: what was done (act), when or where it was done (scene), who did it (agent), how he did it (agency), and why (purpose)" are applicable as a means of situational reflections in Presley's influence on a society (*Grammar* xv). Burke's terms *are* rooted in the *dramatic*, a structure of actions that produce causes to motivate, act, and reflect, and likewise clarify interpretations in specific situations; hence, the expression *dramatism* as it presumably could exist in the declamation, "all the world is a stage"—a correlation of life as theater. Additionally, the ensuing relevancy of the pentadic "ratio" or "pairs" method—Burke's provisions concerning the relationships between elements of the *Pentad*—helps reinforce the beliefs concerning the catalytic influence that Elvis Presley had over (and through) a conservative

1950s era, as well as demonstrating the totality of Presley's (and Sam Phillips') hegemony as *rhetors* in a particular (albeit short) time period. Burke's "ratios" provide the rational for identifying which of the five (crucial) dramatic elements in the Pentad dominate in particular situations or pentadic term relationships—and are further employed as grammatical interpretations of "one's characterization of a given situation" (Rountree 2).

Kenneth Burke first introduced his rhetorical Pentad in his 1945 book, *Grammar of Motives*. He writes:

the basic forms of thought which, in accordance with the nature of the world as all men necessarily experience it, are exemplified in the attributing of motives. These forms of thought can be embodied profoundly or trivially, truthfully or falsely. They are equally present in systematically elaborated metaphysical structures, in legal judgments, in poetry and fiction, in political and scientific works, in news and in bits of gossip offered at random. (*Grammar* xv)

Burke's focus is on the "action" of humans (individually or collectively) and what propagates their motivation—while, simultaneously, creating the distinction "between the 'actions' of 'persons' and the sheer 'motions' of 'things'" (*Language* 53). To Burke, action is the ability of the human to acquire language or a symbol system, where eventually, all human actions will be interpreted through that symbol system—any pure act of "motion" has been replaced (by the 'person' who acts or employs that symbol system). Conversely, any simple human act will have a basis, or rhetorical motive, for the message it transforms symbolically (Foss 384). The questions Burke poses within the framework of the Pentad—who, what, where/when, why, and how—correspond to the five Ws and one H native to journalistic research; both aspects search for answers—journalism searches for the most concrete answer plausible; the Pentad, dealing exclusively with the human experience, allows for an overlapping, and repositioning of all five situational aspects in a paired hierarchy, thus resulting in different motives and different results.

Of all of Burke's concepts, the Pentad has, most likely, been used more often than any of his other rhetorical concepts, including in David A. Ling's investigation of Senator Edward Kennedy's "Chappaquiddick Speech" ("Pentadic Analysis"). J. Clarke Rountree remarks:

Burke does not claim any originality for his *Pentad*, finding the same heuristic in works from Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* to Talcott Parsons' *Structure of Social Action*, and noting that it was "fixed in the medieval questions: *quis* (agent), *quid* (act), *ubi* (scene defined as place), *quibus auxiliis* (agency), *cur* (purpose), *quo modo* (manner, 'attitude'), *quando* (scene defined temporarily). (2)

## 2.0. SPONTANEOUS COMBUSTION

Prior to the sale of his contract to RCA Records, Elvis Presley's complete recorded Sun Records output (from June 1954 to November 1955--a total of eighteen months) amounted to approximately twenty-three complete "sides," outtakes and alternate versions notwithstanding ("Sunrise"), in ten sessions (Jorgensen 9, 10, 12, 15-16, 20, 22, 24, 27, 30). Released on July 19, 1954, as Presley's first single, "That's All Right," paired with "Blue Moon of Kentucky," only charted locally in the surrounding Memphis, Tennessee area—the songs reaching number four and three respectively, on Billboard's Country and Western Territorial Chart ("Recordings"). Conversely, each of the succeeding two-sided singles (a total of five in all) released from Presley's Sun sessions garnered more attention. His last single for the label, "I Forgot to Remember to Forget," achieved the number one position on Billboard's Country and Western charts, while the flipside, "Mystery Train," reached the eleventh position ("Label Story"). Taken as a complete entity however, these songs stand as a testament to rock 'n roll's beginnings, although not as completely exclusive.

While Presley's Sun sessions, and "That's All Right" in particular, stand as defining moments in the musical genesis of rock 'n roll, previous, singular occurrences exist that could warrant their own *pentadic* application: the first documented use of the term "rock 'n' roll" by Cleveland, Ohio disc jockey Alan Freed (in 1951) in reference to the song "My Baby Rocks Me with a Steady Roll" ("History"); the declaration of "Rocket 88" (produced by Sam Phillips and recorded by Jackie Brenston and his Delta Cats in 1951) as the first rock 'n roll record ("Information"); songs deemed inclusive in the genre on the basis of their titles alone: Wynonie Harris' "Good Rockin' Tonight" (1948), Muddy Waters' "Rollin' & Tumblin'" (1950), and Big Joe Turner's

"Shake, Rattle & Roll" (1953); and the ascension of Bill Haley and the Comets' "Rock Around the Clock" to the number one position on the pop charts in July of 1955, the first definitive rock 'n roll record to attain such status.

Despite the amalgamation of near-exacting occurrences during rock 'n roll's infancy, neither the performers of these and countless other songs during this period, nor the songs themselves, announced the incipience of a musical style and attitude more so than on July 5, 1954 (Herrington 6), when Elvis Presley spontaneously picked up a guitar, launched into "That's All Right," with Scotty Moore and Bill Black attempting to "fall in" behind respectively, on guitar and stand-up bass:

The door to the control room was open, the mics were on, Scotty was in the process of packing up his guitar, I think Bill had already thrown his old bass down—he didn't even have a cover for it—and the session was, to all intents and purposes, over. Then Elvis struck up on just his rhythm guitar, "That's all right, mama..." and I mean he got my attention immediately...that's what I was looking for! There was no question in my mind. I didn't give a damn what the song was. That was the sound, the feel, even the tempo. (Sam Phillips qtd. in "Sound")

In Burkean terminology, this significant instant, the rise of Elvis Presley, via Sam Phillips and Sun Records, became rock 'n roll's "basic unit of action" (*Grammar* 14), imbued with Kenneth Burke's "[initial] generating principle of...investigation" (*Grammar* xv), the deed, or the *Act*. It wasn't the physicality of Presley in the studio, spontaneously picking up the guitar and strumming, vocalizing furiously, as a sheer motion. Instead, it was the *Act* itself creating an interpretive symbol system for the audience to rationalize their own rhetorical motives. It was only then that a youth culture—recognized as the audience—understood and identified with Presley: "[Kids] didn't want to be Bill Haley. He was a goofy-looking, middle-aged guy with a stupid kiss curl...kids wanted to be Elvis" (Colin Escott qtd. in "king"). Before Presley's arrival, teenagers had already begun to desire the immediacy, authenticity, and passion of mostly African-American-based dance music, sensations gleaned primarily from exposure to nightclubs, jukeboxes, and the emergence of black rhythm and blues songs on the radio. Simultaneously, a white, teenaged view of this uninhibited peripheral black lifestyle based on thinly-veiled sexual innuendos (including such song titles as Roy Brown's "Good Rockin' Tonight," Hank Ballard's "Work with Me, Annie," and Little Richard's "Good Golly Miss Molly"; the expression "rock 'n roll in itself was an illusion to sex) created a yearning for freedom from middle-class familial constraints. Described much like rock 'n roll as the "devil's music," black music split away at the static social mores that were inherent in the white culture. Lisa Friesen declares "For white affluent teenagers to be listening to what was then called 'race music' seems a powerful act of deviance, [especially] given the climate of segregation in the American South" ("Delinquency").

Furthermore, Presley shouldn't be acknowledged as a white man who precisely displaced the blues, rhythm and blues, or even gospel, just a few of his primary influences, from the black man. Yet, Presley's infatuation with the blues was not based on a chance at acceptance from a white audience, nor the prospect of financial gain; instead, Presley liked his blues raw, with a rhythm that the white man couldn't grasp:

The colored folks been singing it and playing it just like I'm doin' now man, for more years than I know. They played it like that in the shanties and in their juke joints, and nobody paid it no mind 'til I goosed it up. I got it from them. Down in Tupelo, Mississippi, I used to hear old Arthur Crudup bang his box the way I do now, and I said if I ever got to the place where I could feel all old Arthur felt, I'd be a music man like nobody ever saw. (Presley qtd. in Guralnick, *Last Train* 289)

He adds:

... We used to go to these religious singings all the time. The preachers cut up all over the place, jumping on the piano, moving every which way. The audience liked them. I guess I learned from them. I loved the music. It became such a part of my life it was as natural as dancing, a way to escape from the problems and my way of release. (Presley qtd. in Guralnick, *Lost Highway* 121)

Nevertheless, Presley's single defining moment—to impulsively pick up a guitar and launch into "That's All Right" without pretense, without a hint as to what the ramifications might be in the immediate, and long-lasting future—influenced a generation of teenagers (predominantly white, born during the 1940s, and

coming of age in the subsequent decade), both male and female, to rebel: in this case, against the complacency of their parents' post-World War II world, a response to the mostly patriarchal stronghold that permeated 1950s white middle-class America, an era resplendent with a subdued political climate, the promise of financial and psychological prosperity, and a lifestyle no more so homogeneously defined than that of the newly-built, white-picket-fenced housing tracts, situated across a sub-divided American landscape, and home to the obligatory 2.5 kid-infested nuclear family. Still, middle-class America was obviously reluctant to blame the teenager's rejection of the "highly idealized, romanticized picture of family and national life" on its own insulated cultural and domesticated affluence, where, "[even] once television became common, it too projected a monochromatic, self-congratulatory depiction of America" (Welch 33). Thus, Presley's seminal influence, as a figurehead of this germinating counter-culture, propagated by the hegemony of "That's All Right," and seen as the Act, was the action that took place. It did not simply exist, not as a sheer "motion" of "things" (Burke, *Language* 53), but "took form," producing a correspondence between the form (the totality of the July 5, 1954 moment can be seen as the principles involved in the form's enactment) and the Act itself (its sway over predominant social and cultural constructs) (Burke, *Grammar* 228).

As Peter Guralnick remarks in an ironic reference to rock 'n roll's humble origins, "'That's All Right' was at first glance an unlikely song to create such a transformation...originally put out by a very pedestrian [Negro] blues singer...Arthur 'Big Boy' Crudup...who rarely escaped from one key and possessed a singular ineptitude on guitar..." (*Lost Highway* 127). Yet, more than anything else, it was mostly Crudup's voice—"one of the edgiest, most ferocious of post war blues singers" (Conquest) within the genres of rhythm and blues, and Delta blues, that influenced Presley. Crudup's own up-tempo rendition (never a national hit) of "That's All Right" was once described as "bristling with menace...[and] piss, vinegar, and razor-sharp teeth" (Conquest). Recorded in September 1946, his version was actually a patchwork of several blues songs existent during the time period (borrowing lyrics was common in blues and folk music circles for years). According to legend, Crudup was told to bring four "original" songs, of which he had none, to his first RCA recording session. Taking the advice of bluesman Tampa Red—"just take the third or fourth verse of some old record and make that your title verse. Then add other verses from other songs or anything that you can make up that fits the tune" ("Big Boy's"), Crudup borrowed the fourth verse of Texas bluesman Blind Lemon Jefferson's recording of "Black Snake Moan" to create:

That's all right, mama  
That's all right for you  
That's all right mama  
Anyway you do.... ("Big Boy's")

Greil Marcus affirms that "Elvis reduces [Crudup's] original to a footnote. He takes over the music, changing words and tightening verses to suit himself, hanging onto the ends of lines as Scotty Moore chimes in with pretty high-note riffs. Elvis sounds very young, sure of himself, ready to win...the personal statement of a boy claiming his manhood..." (147).

### 3.0. GROUND ZERO

Sam Phillips once described his studio on 706 Union Avenue (and the voice of bluesman Howlin' Wolf, for that matter) as the place "where the soul of a man never dies" ("Sun Records"). The diminutive control room existed on the basic necessities of recording hardware, Phillips making use of two AMPEX recorders—one console model, and another mounted on a rack behind him at the mixing board—and "[b]y 'bouncing' the signal from one machine to another, with a split-second lag between the two" (Escott, *Good Rockin'* 15)—created a tape delay echo, or the celebrated "slapback" musical effect that Sun Records was renowned for.

Escott emphasizes that "[t]he studio's tape delay echo and Phillips' miking techniques enabled Elvis, Scotty, and Bill to create a rich texture from three pieces [including Presley's rhythm guitar, and Moore's innovative choice of guitar notes]. [Black's] bass slapping fulfilled two roles: the click of the strings hitting the neck created a percussive effect [like a rim shot], while the pitch and resonance filled out the bottom end. [In addition], [t]he echo 'fattened' the sound, giving...a compelling syncopation" (*Good Rockin'* 68). Thus, by experimenting creatively within the limitations of the studio's technology, within the restrictions of the

musician's expertise, and with the compromising attitudes of all concerned, a new sound was about to emerge. Dramatically, it was *the* stage, the initial foray, where Elvis Presley created his indelible mark on society. It was the Scene, Kenneth Burke's situational occurrence which may motivate both the self and other, where Elvis Presley, himself a rudimentary musician, began an odyssey that would eventually cast (but not without great discord) a cultural enlightenment on the world. Likewise, the impulsive Act, Elvis Presley, Scotty Moore, and Bill Black's raving musicality, holds the Scene, that exacting moment of creativity—the night of July 5, 1954, accountable for its function (Burke, *Grammar* 145). The drama was created from the exacting moment when Presley "struck up" "That's All Right" on the guitar to produce the inextricable sound that was at once borrowed from distinct sources, but yet unique in its application. "[For sure], the song is clear, direct, uncluttered, and blended into something coherent. There is that famous echo, slapping back at the listener, and bubbling tension [courtesy of the never-before-heard atmospherics of Presley's voice, Moore's guitar, and Black's stand-up bass] that is never quite resolved; no comforts of vocal accompaniment, but the risk of one young man on his own. The sound is all presence, as if Black and Moore each took a step straight off the record and Elvis was somehow squeezed right into the mike" (Marcus 145). The Scene had been made.

#### 4.0. THE HILLBILLY CAT IN R&B TIME

In Burke's prose concerning the conceptual Agent, he weds *idealism* (positing the mind, spirit, or language over matter) to the search for the *who* or *what* responsible for the execution of the Act (*Grammar* 128). Likewise, he asserts of the philosophical traits inherent to the Agent, the responsible "ego," the "self," the "superego," consciousness, "will," the generalized I, the "subjective," "mind," "spirit," the "oversoul," and "super-persons" (*Grammar* 171)—all eventual peculiarities of Elvis Presley throughout his lifetime. Presley was indeed the *who*, or the prime Agent, who committed the Act, the uninhibited casting of a conventional blues to a musical legacy, at the Scene, on 706 Union Avenue. Presley's rise as an instigator of a cultural movement (which Burke links as a "personality," and identifies as an indication of *idealism* [*Grammar* 171]) belies his impoverished beginnings from "a stepchild culture (in the South, white trash...)" (Marcus 129). Yet, while historical hindsight points to Elvis Presley as the determinant Agent whose very presence dominated both the *Act* and the *Scene*, the *Act* itself, the creation of "That's All Right," would not have been generated without the assistance of *Co-agents*, in particular, Scotty Moore, Bill Black, and Sam Phillips. While Presley introduced Arthur Crudup's song to the July 5, 1954, recording session via his impulsive guitar-strumming and vocal meanderings, it was guitarist Scotty Moore and bassman Bill Black, who advanced Presley's defining moment into the annals of time:

We were taking a break...having Cokes and coffee, and all of a sudden Elvis started singing ["That's All Right"], jumping around and just acting the fool, and then Bill picked up his bass and he started acting the fool, too, and, you know, I started playing with 'em. Sam I, I think had the door to the control booth open—I don't know, he was either editing some tape or doing something—and he stuck his head out and said, "What are you doing?" And we said, "We don't know." Well, back up," he said, "try to find a place and start again." (Guralnick, *Lost Highway* 101)

Consequently, Presley, Moore and Black's contributions may be seen as participants in Burke's concept of *consubstantiality*--the connections humans make with one another through shared experiences or goals--*acting-together* (*Rhetoric* 21). As Burke's definition implies, "A is not identical with his colleague, B. But insofar as their interests are joined, A is *identified* with B" (*Rhetoric* 20), Presley most likely is not identical with either Moore or Black, however, the joining of their interests (in this case, the co-creation of the *sound* of "That's All Right") joins Presley with both Moore and Black, both considered as *Co-agents*--a cooperation that extended to the label of the "That's All Right/Blue Moon of Kentucky" 45rpm single, naming the artists as "Elvis Presley, Scotty & Bill." Burke also exclaims, "In being identified with B, A is 'substantially one' with a person other than himself. Yet, at the same time he remains unique, an individual locus of motives...[Moreover], [t]o identify A with B is to make A 'consustantial' with B" (*Rhetoric* 21). Presley then, is (was) considered, despite his introduction of the song to the recording session, part of the band, part of the direction or ideology that the Act implies. And yet, per Burke's guidelines, he is the prime motivator, as it is dependent on his uniqueness.

Furthermore, Sam Phillips may also be seen as a *Co-agent* in the invention of the *Act*, as his studio is the primary artifact of the Scene. It was Phillips' basic impulse to recognize that something very different was

happening in that instant, different from the song ballads attempted earlier that day (prior to the break) at the recording session, "[an] unmistakable black feel to which [he] responded when he stuck his head around the door [and heard Presley, Moore, and Black launching into 'That's All Right']" (Escott, *Good Rockin'* 64). A, Elvis Presley, though not identical, is identified with B, Sam Phillips—at that prime instant, their interests joined as "substantially one"—but as in the Moore and Black consubstantial relationship, Presley, the A, remains the unique, the individual motivator (Burke, *Rhetoric* 21).

Sam Phillips' declaration (Escott, *Brief History* 3) concerning the innate influences responsible for Elvis Presley's vocal mannerisms, guitar playing, and overall musical presence (the consummate effects on "That's All Right") is a prime example of what Kenneth Burke defines as the Agency, the means or instruments (musical instruments, a play on Burkean terminology, do figure prominently in this situation) used by the Agent to accomplish the Act at the Scene (*Grammar* xv). Presley's music borrowed from the musical Agencies of the 1940s jump swing of Louis Jordan; the boogie-woogie piano-playing of Moon Mullican; Bill Monroe's bluegrass; the Beale Street blues clubs in Memphis; the rhythm and blues of Roy Brown and Big Mama Thornton; the country music of the Grand Ole Opry; church gospel; and even the stylistic crooning of Dean Martin, "achieving a natural fusion of the many influences that surrounded him" (Escott, *Brief History* 3). Phillips acknowledged that "[Elvis Presley sang] Negro songs with a white voice which borrow[ed] in mood and emphasis from the country style, modified by popular music..." (qtd. in Escott, *Brief History* 3). Musicologist Rob Bowman of Canada's York University insists:

There was nothing special about Crudup's composition. It was one of hundreds of blues pieces Elvis would have been familiar with. The guy was a sponge. He could have just as easily banged away on Roy Brown's "Good Rockin' Tonight," which was recorded in 1947 and which Elvis certainly would have known, since he moved to Memphis in 1948 and was exposed to black culture day in and day out, in the streets and on radio. No previous generation of southern whites had been so inundated by the influence of black music, gestures, language and stories. The influence was pervasive, unavoidable.... ("sponge")

Presley's fusion of such a plethora of distinct music styles or Agencies resulted in a sound that was initially liberated from the categorization of any such musical form (although the term "rockabilly" was eventually coined to describe the wild, frantic-type, hillbilly music sung in a sometimes bluesy style by white performers). It is not a stretch to consider both the words, and the overall inflections, intonations, and resonance of the music itself, in the 1:54 "That's All Right," courtesy of the musical instruments (of the *Agent* and *Co-agents*), as *Agencies* also. Expressing the very primitive of the word play inherent in the song, Presley's vocalizing espoused the very suggestive nature of the sexual-connotative lyrics:

Well, that's all right, mama  
That's all right for you  
That's all right, mama, just anyway you do  
Well, that's all right, that's all right  
That's all right now mama, anyway you do

Mama she done told me  
Papa done told me too  
Son, that gal your foolin' with  
She ain't no good for you  
But, that's all right, that's all right  
That's all right now mama, anyway you do

I'm leaving town, baby  
I'm leaving town for sure  
Well, then you won't be bothered with me hanging 'round your door  
Well, that's all right, that's all right  
That's all right now mama, anyway you do (Sun Sessions CD)

Musically, the initial open rhythmic strumming of an "A" guitar chord on Presley's acoustic guitar, and Bill Black's simplistic and alternating root/fifth bass pattern thumping on the stand-up bass foreshadow the embryonic journey that the culture of music itself will soon endeavor: rock 'n roll's beginnings were explosive, yet were understated as well. A low rumble, Presley's guitar, Black's bass, Elvis's first line in the key of "A",

"That's all right, mama...", then punctuated by Scotty Moore's precise instrumental guitar flourishes (the chords "A-A7-D-E(7)-A") throughout the first two verses (and accented off-mic by Sam Phillips' rants to Scotty Moore to "...Simplify, simplify...If we wanted Chet Atkins, we would have brought him up from Nashville and gotten him in the damn studio!" [Guralnick, *Last Train* 95]). Soon enough--the arrival of rock 'n roll--Moore's thrice-noted pick-up licks, followed by his high-registered guitar solo over the song's verse form, intensely grounded by Presley's incessant rhythm guitar strumming, and Black's now-quicker paced bottom end--and then, back to the now-assured Presley with "I'm leaving town, baby...", the instruments creating a wall of sound, and the eventual outro of Presley's strummed-guitar, further guitar flourishes from Moore, and Black back on the path to the root/fifth pattern:

'That's All Right' has a timeless quality that was just as striking and just as far removed from trends of the day as it is from contemporary fashion. The sound is clean, without affectation or clutter. And there remains in the conventional lyrics...a sense of transformation, both dizzying and breathtaking, an emotional transcendence, which, if only because of the burden of knowledge, could never happen again. (Guralnick, *Lost Highway* 127)

## 5.0. WE RECORD ANYTHING, ANYWHERE, ANYTIME

From Sam Phillips' childhood, the inequality within the human condition (especially the Negro race) was an issue that he didn't take lightly (Guralnick, *Lost Highway* 328). Phillips once related:

A day didn't go by [during his childhood] when [he] didn't hear black folks singing in the cottonfields...you see, we've forgotten how much they have sacrificed to please the white man...[f]or years white people have denied what this old black man with four strings on his guitar could do, just saying, "OK, let's hear this nigger play." A black man playing for white folks was "fun," but that was all. The black man gave up so many things that were important to him just to survive and please. ("Founding Father")

Never a musician himself, Phillips initially immersed himself in the music business as a disc jockey, recording engineer, and music promoter in the 1940s. By 1950 though, he had opened the Memphis Recording Service on 706 Union Avenue in Memphis, Tennessee, recording and mastering the music of other recording labels. In February 1952, Phillips launched Sun Records, its name "a sign of his perpetual optimism: a new day and a new beginning" ("Sun Record Company"). Conversely, once he established the Sun Records studio, for the most part with few exceptions, Phillips' motivation, the main target of musicians for recording sessions, were blues, and rhythm and blues artists (such as Rufus Thomas, Little Junior Parker, and Pinetop Perkins). Phillips deduced "that the people who played this type of music had not been given the opportunity to reach an audience...My aim was to try and record the blues and other music I liked and to prove whether I was right or wrong about this music" (Escott, *Good Rockin'* 18).

Although this concept can be seen as Phillips' prime reasoning for the origin of his studio, his Purpose for recording Elvis Presley mostly relies on the happenstance of the Act's occurrence at his studio, i.e. the Scene, with Presley, the Agent and Co-agents (Moore, Black, and Phillips himself, thus enforcing his reason of Purpose), and the components of the various Agencies (Agents, musical instruments, song lyrics). Concerning Phillips, the application of Burke's Purpose is imbedded in contradiction (certainly a second Pentad could be created here with Phillips as the Agent, and Presley as the Agency):

I went into the studio...to draw out a person's innate, possibly unknown talents, present them to the public, and let the public be the judge. I had to be a psychologist and know how to handle each artist and how to enable him to be at his best. I went with the idea that an artist should have something not just good, but totally unique. When I found someone like that, I did everything in my power to bring it out. (Marcus 145)

Even so, at other times, Phillips admitted that "If [he] could only find a white boy who could sing like a Negro I could make me a million dollars" (Escott, *Good Rockin'* 64). Phillips thought that Presley was an able ballad-singer with potential, "but there was no need to challenge established balladeers such as Perry Como, Frankie Laine, and Bing Crosby" ("Music Legend"). Consequently, he had been extremely surprised at Presley's familiarity with "That's All Right." Presley had shown glimpses of knowledge of the blues and

rhythm and blues previously through the fact that he had listened to different types of music; still, his early studio forays had resulted in only mundane performances. Through either Purpose though, Phillips is still seen as a Co-Agent of Presley, the Agent: consubstantially, he is identified with Presley as a Co-agent who brought out Presley's talent on "That's All Right," thus, in turn, fashioning a new music and societal culture; as well, he parlayed Presley's recording of "That's All Right" into fame and eventual fortune.

Elvis Presley's sense of Purpose was no less specific in its contradictory intentions. While "That's All Right" centralized a singer with the truest of intentions towards a rhythm that relied on blues and hillbilly boogie, among other musical styles, Marion Kesker "remembers that Elvis, during his first audition, relied...heavily on Dean Martin material" ("Concerning") (a few of his earlier recordings on July 5, including "I Love You Because" and "Harbor Lights," *did* accent his crooner-like ambitions). Still, Presley's Purpose, its narrowed circumference, on July 5, 1954, when he launched into "That's All Right," was most likely driven by a desire for immediacy in the moment, rather than an intentioned result. The complexity of the dissimilar musical styles withstanding, Elvis Presley was a dynamic musical presence nevertheless. In that particular moment, he happened to open the door into the world (culture) as we knew it *before* Elvis Presley, and the world *after* Elvis Presley.

## 6.0. COPPING AN ATTITUDE/A BURKEAN DESEGREGATION ON THE "A" SIDE

Kenneth Burke opines that "Many times on later occasions [he] regretted that [he] had not turned the pentad into a hexad, with "attitude" as the sixth term" (*Dramatism* 23). Its application to Elvis Presley's transformation of a culture, by means of the seminal creation of "That's All Right," justifies its existence in the rock 'n roll realm—Attitude has always been seen as a symbolic action (at least in a state-of-mind)—perpetrating the rock 'n roll medium, "conveying the radical difference between teenagers and the norms prevalent in the 1950s...[as a] music [that] has been a confrontation with reality rather than a confrontation with art" (Belz qtd. in "Delinquency"). Mannerisms of dress, physical posturing, ways of vocal expression, song lyrics, the amplification of musical instruments—all have contributed to an Attitude that is, at once, physical, but also psychological as well. To follow Burke, Attitude does "designate the manner" (*Grammar* 443) concerning human motivation. Presley's manner was surely designated by the black artists that preceded him. He knew how to, and what the act was, seconds before he picked up his guitar and launched into "That's All Right." In turn, his subsequent influence on teenagers "designated their manner." In deference to Attitude, Burke explains "[t]he symbolic representation of some object or event in art can arouse an added complexity of response in us...because it invites us to feel such emotions as would be associated with the actual object or event..." (*Grammar* 236)—which it surely did with its preponderance on the teenaged culture.

In Presley's situation—the manner in which he performed—the Attitude not only followed the birth of "That's All Right," but was given birth to *itself* by the song's emergence onto an unsuspecting world. "That's All Right," and its subsequent creation of the rock 'n roll lifestyle and Attitude, may have been the first step *towards* the Act (Burke, *Grammar* 236)—if we follow George Herbert Mead's thought that attitudes are "the beginnings of acts" (Burke, *Grammar* 236). The Act's creation was the pronouncement of Presley's thoughts, his previous cultural assimilations, prior to the song's appearance on July 5, 1954. Likewise, the symbolic action of "That's All Right," the Attitude, did represent an arousal in us—the complete Agencies, on account of Presley, the Agent—summoned us to connect with emotions associated with the event, or "designate our manner;" in this case, a teenaged rebellion against societal mores. Furthermore, Mead's "delayed" action through "vocal gestures" (language) can arouse attitudes in our self and others (*Grammar* 236): Presley's vocal genesis at the dawn of "That's All Right" did just that to Phillips, Moore, and Black (as well as himself) in the studio.

In turn, the five accountable pentadic elements—Act, Scene, Agent, Agency, Purpose—formed Presley's attitude, as much as it did ours. "Blue Moon of Kentucky" didn't have it. "I Forgot to Remember to Forget" didn't have it. "Mystery Train" didn't have it either. But "That's All Right" had the Attitude that persuaded Presley initially, and motivated Phillips, Moore, and Black.

It sounds...easy, unforced, joyous, spontaneous. It sounds as if the singer has broken free for the first time in his life, his voice soars with a purity and innocence. There is a crisp authority to Scotty Moore's



lead guitar, Elvis's rhythm is ringing and clear, the bass gallops along in slap-heavy fashion. (Guralnick, *Lost Highway* 127)

Through the application of Kenneth Burke's Pentad (Hexad), this paper has focused on the ascension of Elvis Presley through the recording of a singular song, the Act—"That's All Right"—a performance that resulted in a societal upheaval primarily because its Agent, Elvis Presley (along with Co-agents Sam Phillips, Scotty Moore, and Bill Black), borrowed from his existent Agencies (musical styles, vocal mannerisms, musical instruments) to fashion an Attitude (that created an upheaval in social mores) that went beyond his and Sam Phillips' Purpose (which was for Presley to become a successful singer). Likewise, the Act itself would not have happened without the benefit of the Scene, Sam Phillips' Sun Records studio on 706 Union Avenue in Memphis, Tennessee. This pentadic application has also revealed the "certain formal interrelationships [that] prevail among these terms, by reason of their role as attributes of a common ground or substance [a sense of term overlapping]" (Burke, *Grammar* xix).

Burke also reveals that "[...] the more steadily you contemplate these terms, the greater their tendency to merge into one another" ("Landmark" 3). Broken down intrinsically, Presley's Act of singing "That's All Right" in the Sun studio would not have resulted if the Scene, the studio itself, had not existed. The recording of "That's All Right" would not have existed without the Scene, the studio. Moreover, the Act would not have resulted without the presence of the Agent, Elvis Presley (and his Co-agents—Moore, Black, and Phillips) at the Scene (the studio). If the Agencies had not existed (the influential musical styles, the musical instruments, even the song itself), then the Act might not have occurred, the individual Agent, Elvis Presley, might have never been present at the Scene (which most likely, would have existed anyway), and a sense of Purpose on Presley's part would not have transpired. And consequently, the Attitude that Presley offered teenaged culture (the pre-condition Attitude of Presley, the first step towards the Act, certainly existed), borrowing from the comprisal of the initial five pentadic elements, would never have been conceived. Thus, as Burke relates, "...the [terms] are like the fingers on a hand. In their extremities, the fingers are distinct, but in the palm they merge" ("Landmark" 3). Accordingly, Presley's Act merges with the other pentadic term-instances, much like the unification of musical styles that he assimilated to create his sound and vision.

A complete pairing of all pentadic terms in their various configurations revealed sporadic domination of each term in its inclusive pairing. However, the overall application of Burke's ratios concluded that Elvis Presley was the dominant element within this use of the Pentad. In the Agent-Scene ratio, Presley (Agent) affected the nature of the Sun records studio (Scene) through his spontaneous musical outburst of "That's All Right." Up to that point, the songs he was recording contained more of a pedestrian aspect within their vocal/musical delivery. Although the studio was the "stage" where a singular use of Burke's *dramatism* occurred, without Presley as the Agent, the Sun studio (Scene) would not have helped change the course of American culture. Similarly, the Act may have eventually come about at some point in musical history, but not presumably with the same impact of Presley's presence.

Although Presley is seen as the prime motivator of the Act, his presence as an Agent is much more influential in the Agent-Act ratio. The recording of "That's All Right" would not have occurred without him. In addition, and despite the early existence of musical styles (Agency) that influenced Presley initially, through his birthing of the Act, he inspired Scotty Moore and Bill Black to seize their instruments (Agencies), and in turn, inspire Presley's vocalizations (the Agencies he had gathered in coherence, and then "made into" his own stylings)—an act of Agent-Agency domination. Finally, because Presley's Purpose was to be a successful singer, not "a supreme figure in American life...who brooks no real comparisons" (Marcus 120), and one who eventually created a cultural/musical Attitude, he, as the Agent, is the predominant influence in not only the applied Agent-Purpose ratio, but in a mythical Agent-Attitude ratio also. The Attitude was born of Elvis Presley and "That's All Right."

## 7.0. REAL GONE

This pentadic analysis of Elvis Presley's maiden voyage into mainstream culture (via "That's All Right" and Sun Records founder Sam Phillips) is this author's way of ascertaining Presley's initial rise to iconic status—a "defining by location" (Burke, *Grammar* 77) within the circumference used to help with the overall scope of the Pentad. Irving J. Rein speculates that "what makes art an effective instrument of persuasion is the

viewer's unique perception of the artistic event as he experiences it" ("Popular Arts")—(albeit a second-hand view, and through Kenneth Burke's Pentad) this is the author's experience of Presley's "event." Presley did provide "equipment for living" (and indeed, is an author of sorts, as well) in that he changed a whole social and musical culture, while at the same time providing an Attitude "that can arouse an added complexity of response in us" (Burke, *Grammar* 236), an attitude that did provide [us] strategies for the recurring situations of the new society/culture.

This application of Burke's Pentad is more than just an inquiry into a seminal pop culture/music event. Research shines light on the social and cultural influences that perhaps, provided the motive for Elvis Presley, in that exacting second in the studio, to pick up his acoustic guitar, strum, and vocally "lean into" the substance of "That's All Right." Why didn't Presley fashion the song in the blues style so reminiscent of "Big Boy" Crudup, instead of the hybrid sound that turned the world on its ear? Most likely, because Crudup wasn't Presley's only motivator—that the pre-conditions of the hillbilly, jump, and swing music, of the "preachers cutting up all over the place, jumping on the piano" (Guralnick, *Lost Highway* 121), were also Presley's motivators—a type of generational *Pentadic* application as it were. Why Presley may seem like the initiator of rock 'n' roll to the white masses (predominantly) who effected his physical and psychological Attitude, he is also seen as another catalyst in a cultural and social lineage, taking pre-conditioned motivational factors from his pre-"That's All Right" influences, and passing them down to the next generation. By placing the Pentad within the cultural and social context of the birth of Presley's musical moment, applicable research reveals a wealth of information on his musical influences (roots), his strengths and weaknesses as a person and a musician, the background of his social structure and the early/mid 1950s era, how he crossed cultural barriers with his music, and his relationship with Sam Phillips, Scotty Moore, and Bill Black. Moreover, the study also reveals the Pentad as capable rhetorical tool in the study of human action and motivation.

In theory, the application of Burke's Pentad seems an easy fit—plug in the elements in their situational "relationships," and everything is a perfect fit. Yet, that's far from the case. In this application, Presley is identified as the Agent, and, to no surprise, is the dominating overall element in the pentadic-ratio application. Overlapping is expected, given the common ground attributes of the elements involved. Still, other applications present themselves as viable future options for research: Sam Phillips as the Agent, at the instance that his instincts took over to record the band following as the Act, with Presley, Moore, Black, and their instruments as the Co-Agencies, Phillips' Purpose to record the band (or just Elvis Presley?) being to release a new sound on an unsuspecting world, with the first four elements unified at the fifth—Sun Records as the Scene. For sure, Sam Phillips deserves more attention with his own Pentad—for what he's done, not only with Elvis Presley, but with other musicians such as Charlie Rich, Johnny Cash, Jerry Lee Lewis, et al. Sam Phillips is a complex individual that begs for a critical analysis of his pervasive influence on twentieth-century culture. In fact, Sun Records is a complex phenomenon in itself. Accordingly, Sam Phillips put his label in the proper perspective: "We Flat-Ass Changed the World!" ("Changed")

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# **‘ŌIWI: A NATIVE HAWAIIAN JOURNAL AS A WRITTEN MO‘OKŪ‘AUHAU OF RESISTANCE**

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## **ABSTRACT**

To date, little criticism has explored the strong aesthetic and cultural resistance *‘Ōiwi: A Native Hawaiian Journal* represents. While Hawai‘i newspapers have provided some media coverage of the journal, little attention was given to the mana‘o or aesthetics of Hawaiian writers and artists within the journal. This paper asserts this inattention is directly related to the colonial context of Hawai‘i. I begin by examining the media’s reception and portrayal of *‘Ōiwi*. I then look at the historical role writing has played in Hawaiian resistance, before analyzing how the literature and art within *‘Ōiwi* continues a mo‘okū‘auhau of resistance.

## **1.0. INTRODUCTION**

The inaugural issue of *‘Ōiwi: A Native Hawaiian Journal* was published by the independent Kuleana ‘Ōiwi Press in 1998. Entitled “He oia mau nō kākou,” or “We go on,” the journal became the first devoted entirely to Native Hawaiian poetry, mele, short fiction, personal and scholarly essays, art, Hawaiian newspaper excerpts, and testimony of autonomy and sovereignty, history, identity and resistance produced by Native Hawaiians.

Māhealani Dudoit, Chief Editor of the first two volumes of the journal, writes in the Editors’ Note (in dialogue with the other editors of *‘Ōiwi*) that the journal is intended to be

a place where Hawaiians can come and express themselves without being expected to write about being Hawaiian in a certain kind of ‘Hawaiian’ way. Part of our decolonization is to allow our individual selves to be whoever we are, in all our diversity... we are Hawaiian by koko. And history has brought us to where we are today, with all our different ways of being. (6)

Certainly, its very title, *‘Ōiwi: A Native Hawaiian Journal*, signifies in both ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i and English that an indigenous perspective takes precedence here and, moreover, that Native Hawaiian contemporary literature, contrary to being absent, is alive and vibrant, but has been largely silenced until now.

Very little literary or political criticism and no literary reviews have explored the strong aesthetic and cultural resistance the journal represents, as well as its political implications. While several major newspapers in Hawai‘i, all publications which regularly print literary reviews, covered the launching of each of the journal’s three volumes, little to none of the coverage was devoted to the mana‘o of Native Hawaiians within the journal. Rather, the newspapers emphasize only that Native Hawaiians are producing literature and fail to honor the complexity and diversity of issues Native Hawaiians are writing about, nor the political nature of our artistry and aesthetics.

This paper asserts that this inattention is a means of silencing, and erasure of the Native Hawaiian voice is directly related to the colonial context of Hawai‘i. Thus, I begin by first examining how each of *‘Ōiwi*’s volumes were received and portrayed in the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* and the *Honolulu Weekly*, borrowing largely from Terry Goldie’s concept of indigenization, Haunani-Kay Trask’s notion of American individualism, Mason Durie’s closing notes summarizing the Conference of Indigenous Art and Heritage and the Politics of Identity held at Massey University in Aotearoa in 2002, and Antonio Gramsci’s notion of hegemony as force and consent. I then look at the historical role writing has played in resistance in Hawai‘i and how the journal was created, before offering an analysis of the Native Hawaiian literature and art within *‘Ōiwi*.

## 2.0. THE COLONIAL CONTEXT OF HAWAII AND THE MEDIA

In the March 16, 1999 article, "Native Voices Finally Heard," about the inaugural volume of 'Ōiwi, the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin's* Cynthia Oi reports that

The journal, an annual publication with a first run of 2,000, is a collection of essays, poetry, stories, art and photographs. Contributors include Kapulani Landgraf, Imaikalani Kalahele, Manu Aluli Meyer, William Kamana'olana Mills, Anthony Kalaemaka Kekona, Jr. and Haunani-Kay Trask. There are also reprints of articles that appeared in *Ke Aloha Aina*, one of dozens of Hawaiian-language newspapers that were published in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (D1).

This straightforward description of the content of the journal volume merely catalogues genres and contributors, while briefly mentioning *Ke Aloha Aina*. No mention is made about the political or artistic nature of the work the journal features, nor the revisionist history and strong resistance movement against the United States represented through the *Ke Aloha Aina* excerpts selected. It is ironic that the title of Oi's article, "Native Voices Finally Heard," pays so little attention to what the "native voices" are actually saying—indicating that Native Hawaiians are still *unheard*.

In addition, the volume's title, "He Oia Mau no Kākou," or "We Go On," at once a powerful emphasis of identity and declaration of endurance despite adversity, is neither translated nor explained. Rather, it is only presented to the reader through a small black and white photograph of the journal's cover, which in newsprint, is difficult to read if read at all.

The August 22, 2002 article by *Honolulu Star-Bulletin's* Gary Chun comes closer to highlighting the political subject matter and artistic resistance reinforced through Native Hawaiian work in the second volume of 'Ōiwi, "Kūnihi ka Mauna," or "Steep Stands the Mountain." Unlike his fellow reporter, Chun highlights the political nature of the writing, as he writes that the second volume features

two critical essays by Arnold Hokulani Requilman on King Kalakaua's world travels and the life of Princess Ka'iulani...and Patricia Piilani Ono Nakama's "Stolen Lands and Other Stories of Paleka Ono (nui)...Noenoe Silva's translations of articles from the 1900 Hawaiian nationalist newspaper *Ke Aloha Aina* and select testimony given during the 20<sup>th</sup> session of the State Legislature in 1999 regarding tuition waivers for students of Hawaiian ancestry at the University of Hawai'i (D1).

Not only does Chun list the genres featured and the contributors' names, he also chooses to give the titles of pieces. Those he selects are distinguished by their political implications, as can be seen most strongly through the Nakama title. Chun also rightly describes *Ke Aloha Aina* as "the 1900 Hawaiian nationalist newspaper" (D1), alluding to how the excerpts chosen for publication within Volume 2 were chosen for their political and nationalist impact. Moreover, the passage mentions the "testimony given...in 1999 regarding tuition waivers for students of Hawaiian ancestry" (D1), highlighting that the issue is still of a high priority three years later within the Native Hawaiian community. Despite Chun's relative support of "this handsome volume" and his in-depth presentation of titles and political subject matter featured, here too, there is no literary or aesthetic review, nor any further discussion of the issues raised in the volume.

In fact, even within the latest article (April 27, 2005) covering 'Ōiwi's Volume 3, "A Hawaiian Voice, the journal 'Ōiwi continues a maoli tradition that took root in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, only to be silenced in the 1930's," a cover story by the *Honolulu Weekly's* Lesa Griffith, there is very little attention paid to the political or literary aesthetic quality of the collection. Although relatively lengthy and supportive, the only discussion of actual content of Volume 3 occurs almost halfway through the article: "The latest 'Ōiwi, titled *Huli Au*, is a vibrant collection in English and Hawaiian that runs from poetry and short stories to scholarly texts and testimony against further Mauna Kea development" (8). No discussion on how the third volume focuses primarily on Native Hawaiian education is given, nor anything further explaining why Native Hawaiians submitted testimony against the development of Mauna Kea. Echoing Chun's opinion of Volume 2, Griffiths also deems Volume 3 to be "a handsome product" with "cleverly layered visual metaphors and symbols, such as the phases of the moon...a brooding glossy cover and pages of original art sandwiched between different genres of writing" (8). However, no further aesthetic comment or the meaning for the "layered visual metaphors and symbols" are given.

Much more attention is paid to how the journal was developed and the difficulty Kuleana 'Ōiwi Press had in soliciting submissions from Native Hawaiian writers. There is also considerable coverage of the life and tragic, untimely death of Māhealani Dudoit before the launch of Volume 2 in 2002. Because of Griffith's detailed account (in the typical American media tradition) of how Dudoit was found dead, the coverage is distasteful and sensationalistic (I have chosen not to quote it here for this reason).

Though a brief discussion of one possible meaning of *Huliau* or 'turning point' is determined to be the "huliau at which Ho'omanawanui finds the whole concept of Hawaiian literature;" (9) again, the emphasis is placed more on the whole idea that Native Hawaiians are *actually* writing or producing literature, and not on what Native Hawaiians are writing about. In doing so, the article implies a condescending vein of incredulity and surprise that Native Hawaiians are writing. Griffiths also finds it necessary to emphasize the youth of Native Hawaiian literature first through the subtitle of her article, "The journal 'Ōiwi continues a maoli tradition that took root in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, only to be silenced in the 1930's," then by posing the condescending question to Ho'omanawanui if Native Hawaiian literature's "lag is a result of Hawaiian's oral tradition" (8). Ho'omanawanui is said to "rebut" with the following: "Five hundred years ago we were an oral tradition only. What we forget is that 'Ōiwi is the first contemporary publication by Hawaiians for Hawaiians. It's certainly not the only publication ever... From the very beginning, all of these oral stories and mele were put into print" (8).

Ho'omanawanui's response immediately invokes the vast wealth of oral literature, which preceded and then enriched the written literature from the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the present to correct the colonial assumptions implicit in Griffith's question: (1) that there is no relationship, nor continuity between Native Hawaiian oral and written literature, conveniently emphasizing how green Native Hawaiian literature is (though, in essence, Native Hawaiian literature is an older tradition than American literature); and (2) that Native Hawaiian oral literature stunted the proliferation of written literature, rather than the American colonialism insidiously inflicted upon Native Hawaiians which silenced us and strove to dispossess us of agency, culture, language and land.

To date, no formal literary or political reviews of 'Ōiwi have been published. Though seemingly harmless, as Ngugi wa Thiong'o asserts, "the reception of a given work of art is part of the work itself; or rather, the reception (or consumption!) of the work completes the whole creative process involving that particular artistic object" (82). Consequently, the absence of formal reviews suggests the discomfort of reading and critiquing a Native Hawaiian collaborative text, at best, and the continued denial and suppression of *nā mana 'o* and *nā 'olelo*, not to mention the continued relegation of Native Hawaiians to being mainly a part of the tourist brochure—to be seen, but not heard, at worst. Regardless, this inattention is directly related to the colonial context of Hawai'i and the threat posed by the claim to indigeneity made by a self-defined publication whose sole purpose is to un-silence, re-establish and widely distribute a space for Native Hawaiian language, testimony, history, cultural traditions, and subversive texts in a Hawaiianized form of English and visual arts adhering to a distinctly Hawaiian aesthetic.

Terrie Goldie's concept of *indigenization*, though originally applied to the postcolonial contexts of Canada, New Zealand and Australia, explains the nature of the threat posed by a Native Hawaiian claim to indigeneity through a public literary space such as 'Ōiwi. Indigenization characterizes the colonialist attempt to justify their continued presence by obscuring their history of colonial occupation. Thus, for non-Hawaiians in Hawai'i, there is "a need to become 'native,' [in order] to belong" (Goldie 13). This need arises "when a person moved to a new place and recognized an Other as having greater roots in that place" (14). Within Hawai'i, this process involves both an erasure of Kānaka Maoli, the true native of the land, through non-recognition of our literature, which is inherently a claim to our indigenous status, our orature and the long history preserved through its 'Ōlelo, and the genealogical connection to 'āina, this land of contention. The colonial need to indigenize settlers to Hawai'i manifests itself in much of contemporary "local" literature and advertisements marketing Hawai'i. As settlers appropriate Native Hawaiian cultural traditions and philosophies, they claim them as their own, because they are considered entitlements by virtue of their occupation of Hawai'i. In this way, the colonial "fear [leads the colonial to] incorporate an indigenization, which excludes the indigene...an indigenization by inclusion for the white who, one might say, "acquires Indian" (215).

However, this indigenizing process is complicated by the fact that Native Hawaiians did not die out. We are still very much here in Hawai‘i, representing a strong political force. Thus, the colonial settler must will a kind of ignorance when it comes to “conquered Natives,” as Haunani-Kay Trask argues in *From a Native Daughter*:

There is always that particular variant of racism that fashions America’s moral stupidity: vociferous denial of the presence, unique histories, and self-determination of America’s conquered Natives. To Hawaiians, haole Americans seem to cherish their ignorance of other nations (especially conquered people who live wretched lives all around them) as a sign of American individualism. (18)

The willful ignorance Americans refer to as “individualism” is strategically selective, for while certain traditional art forms, such as the hula, have not been silenced, but rather encouraged to the point of exploitation, contemporary Native Hawaiian literature and art continues to be largely disregarded.

An explanation for this was offered at the Conference of Indigenous Art and Heritage and the Politics of Identity held at Massey University in Palmerston North, Aotearoa in May 2002, where the participants collectively identified that relegation of the indigenous voice is one of the main threats to indigenous art. Within the colonial context, when the Native presence cannot entirely be denied, indigenous art must be relegated to the ancient or primitive, because there is a constant need for justifying colonization and occupation. If the native and his or her artwork can be restricted to “stylized ethnic reproductions, important not because of their interpretations of a modern world, but because they [represent] the innocence of a world long since past,” (Durie 18) then the colonial can be assured that the past is where the indigenous presence will remain and through a “compliance with colonial images of simplicity and naivete,” (ibid) that the native is not resistant to the settler’s colonial power and status.

Colonial efforts to relegate Native Hawaiians to the past are perpetuated by Hawai‘i’s newspapers and media. This exemplifies Antonio Gramsci’s concept of ideological hegemony as both force and consent:

The “normal” exercise of hegemony on the now classical terrain of the parliamentary regime is characterized by the combination of force and consent, which balance each other reciprocally, without force predominating excessively over consent. Indeed, the attempt is always made to ensure that force will appear to be based on the consent of the majority, expressed by the so-called organs of public opinion--newspapers and associations--which, therefore, in certain situations, are artificially multiplied. Between consent and force stands corruption/fraud... (80 fn.)

*Ideological hegemony* refers to the process whereby a dominant class contrives to retain political power by manipulating public opinion, creating what Gramsci calls the “popular consensus.” (12) In accordance with this, newspapers and other forms of media become weaponry used by the state to maintain the ideological hegemony created by the dominant power. Through the media, the state is able to continue colonization and oppression, while also obtaining a measure of consent from the colonized or oppressed peoples, who are then led to believe (often through excessive repetition of state ideology) that their oppression is normative. Thus, while Hawai‘i newspapers provide some coverage of *‘Ōiwi*, they also characterize contemporary Native Hawaiian literature as young, and thus, unskilled or inferior. In this way, they invariably ignore our resistant counter-hegemony, while appearing supportive—all to maintain the current hegemony and its falsehoods.

### 3.0. KĀKAU KŪ‘Ē: THE HISTORICAL ROLE OF WRITING IN NATIVE HAWAIIAN RESISTANCE

That the written literary space should be seen as a threat within Hawai‘i is, of course, no surprise. Writing has played a large role within Native Hawaiian culture and as a means of resistance since it was first introduced by Western missionaries in the 1820’s. Just over a century ago, literacy rates in Hawai‘i (in ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i) were among the highest in the world, and writing by Native Hawaiians was being published in numerous island newspapers and scholarly books. (Meyer 24). The new technology of writing and printing that haole missionaries introduced was widely embraced and strongly encouraged by the ali‘i:

By 1832, 40% of the population were in schools started by missionary influence with missionary texts. These students were mostly adults and the teachers were mostly their Hawaiian peers. By 1832, 900 schools were set up to teach 53,000 Hawaiians how to read and write. By 1846, over 80% of the Hawaiian population was literate. (Meyer 24)

From a missionary standpoint, the introduction of the printed word was the only means by which the Word of their God could be shared so they could convert indigenous populations to Christianity and thus, “civilization.” However, for our *kūpuna*, the written word was embraced for opening up “the flood gates for a whole new way of communicating and sharing in worldly experiences” (Meyer 25). Like other haole introductions during this early period of western contact, our *kūpuna* re-purposed writing to suit their own needs and priorities, including cultural preservation, historiography, genealogy, as well as the dissemination of information of political and national importance.

The first newspapers in ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i were published by the mission beginning in 1834 to “supply the means of useful knowledge ... [and] to point out existing evils, their character, seat, extent and consequences” (Silva 130)—and were essentially, a vehicle of conversion. The first Native Hawaiian controlled newspaper, *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* was created because missionary newspapers censored Native Hawaiian mo‘olelo, which was often deemed “obscene.” Several Native Hawaiian-controlled newspapers followed to share mo‘olelo, genealogies, oli, mele, and political news.

In addition, many Native Hawaiian scholars and ali‘i, like King David La‘amea Kalākaua, used writing to resist against American haoles and to preserve the culture, mo‘olelo and mana‘o of Native Hawaiians, who were commonly perceived to be a dying race. The motto during Kalākaua’s reign, *Ho‘oulu*, or ‘to increase,’ was a response not only to the massive depopulation which occurred during the 100 years following western contact, but was also a period of freeing the hula and other traditional art forms, which were banned with the first generation of missionaries. Kalākaua’s *Legends and Myths of Hawai‘i*, written in English in 1888, thus targeted a haole audience, as he believed that Native Hawaiians would inevitably keep

decreasing in numbers and gradually losing their hold upon the fair land of their fathers. Within a century they have dwindled from four hundred thousand healthy and happy children of nature, without care and without want, to a little more than a tenth of that number of landless, hopeless victims to the greed and vices of civilization ... Year by year their footsteps will grow more dim along the sands of their reef-sheltered shores, and fainter and fainter will come their simple songs from the shadows of the palms, until finally their voices are heard no more for ever. (Introduction)

Here, the American haole audience is indirectly implicated through the “greed and vices of civilization” as the cause for the massive depopulation he cites and the “landless[ness]” of his people.

Following the Overthrow, Emma Nāwahī’s nationalist newspaper *Ke Aloha Aina* became a primary publication of resistance. Though it was banned under the Provisional Government, it continued to be produced and disseminated covertly to spread news of the steps being taken by Queen Lili‘uokalani (who used writing to organize a petition which effectively defeated the Bill to annex Hawai‘i in the American Senate); to fight for Hawaiian Sovereignty; to organize resistance strategies (such as the petition comprising 90% of all Native Hawaiians) and meetings, as well as to offer words of support to an occupied, oppressed people.

Though not fully explored in this paper, countless other examples of kākau kū‘ē abounded during the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Noenoe Silva’s *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* gives a much more extensive account of resistance writing during this historical period).

#### 4.0. KULEANA ‘ŌIWI PRESS: KŪKĀKŪKĀ & THE EFFORT TO UN-SILENCE

The history of Native Hawaiian writing, whether as a means of cultural preservation, testimony, or political organization—all of which are forms of resistance—further emphasizes the political context within which the journal, now in its third volume, represents a written genealogy of resistance, and its independent Kuleana ‘Ōiwi Press were created.



Kuleana ‘Ōiwi Press was first conceived in April 1997, when Native Hawaiian editor and writer Dr. Māhealani Dudoit attended the MELUS Conference and spoke on behalf of a theoretical Native Hawaiian literary journal and its potential social and cultural impact. A creative writer herself, she shared her knowledge of the rich literary inheritance within Native Hawaiian history and culture and asserted that Native Hawaiian contemporary literature, contrary to being absent, was alive and vibrant, but silenced. She further asserted that publishing such voices would inspire further literary production which, in turn, would directly contribute to the revitalization of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i and the Native Hawaiian culture, and would promote and encourage greater levels of literacy within Native Hawaiian communities.

Realizing the great need for a Native Hawaiian journal, Dudoit began researching the feasibility of a journal by attending numerous conferences and brainstorming ideas with members of the literary and publishing community in Hawai‘i and on the continental U.S. In January 1998, she decided to (1) establish an independent publishing press to publish the journal, and (2) to incorporate this press as a 501(c)3 nonprofit organization to address the need within Native Hawaiian communities for greater levels of literacy, to teach Native Hawaiian literature in Hawai‘i’s schools, and to increase the visibility of Native Hawaiian literature and the arts. After soliciting help from various members of the University of Hawai‘i community as well as Hawai‘i literary circles and Hawaiian language immersion programs, Dudoit assembled a core group of editors and ‘*Ōiwi: A Native Hawaiian Journal* was born. In accordance with its mission to promote, publish and support Native Hawaiian literacy, literature and the arts, Kuleana ‘Ōiwi Press has published three volumes of ‘*Ōiwi: A Native Hawaiian Journal* in its five-year tenure and is in the planning stages of the fourth volume.

Before contemporary Native Hawaiian-controlled printing presses, like Kuleana ‘Ōiwi Press, there were very few publishing opportunities for Native Hawaiians in Hawai‘i, which is indicative of colonial silencing. In the Griffiths article, Ku‘ualoha Ho‘omanawanui relates that Māhealani Dudoit, an award-winning poet, who had work published “all over the United States in esteemed journals...found it difficult to be published in Hawai‘i in some of our local journals” (7). Even highly esteemed poets like Haunani-Kay Trask faced several rejections from Hawai‘i presses while seeking to publish her first book of poetry, *Light in the Crevice Never Seen* (1994). As a result, she went to Calyx Books, an Oregon press, to publish her collection, which was reprinted in 1999 and has since been widely studied throughout the U.S. and the Pacific. This further emphasizes the colonial need within Hawai‘i to silence Native Hawaiian literary production.

The resulting absence of widely published written and artistic expression by Native Hawaiians over the past century engendered the belief that Hawaiians lacked a literary and artistic heritage. While other cultures living in Hawai‘i flourished in these regards, Native Hawaiian culture continued to be negated and silenced. Even as more traditional forms of Native Hawaiian culture experienced a “renaissance” in the 1970’s, with the exception of Dana Naone Hall, Wayne Westlake, Haunani-Kay Trask, ‘Imaikalani Kalāhele, John Dominis Holt and Māhealani Kamau‘u, the absence of a larger literary voice supported the hegemonic stereotype of Native Hawaiians as an illiterate people who did not value literature.

## 5.0. AN INTRODUCTORY ANALYSIS OF ‘ŌIWI VOLUMES 1, 2, & 3

It is with the intention to unmask the hegemonic that the latter part of this paper looks at the threat posed by a Native Hawaiian aesthetic and literature by *beginning* an analysis of the themes and concepts of resistance explored in the first three volumes of ‘*Ōiwi* through the Editors’ Notes, the titles of each volume, the contributors and the nature and messages of the contributions selected for the publication. I emphasize that this paper merely *begins* to give a reading of ‘*Ōiwi*, as the journal’s richness and complexity merit further criticism and closer readings. However, in offering this criticism of all three volumes, I am initiating a dialogue with other literary critics (Native Hawaiian or not), as well as a challenge to offer their mana‘o about this publication, which by virtue of the empowerment it holds and provides, enables us all to believe in an emerging literature of liberation in the power of words.

What sets ‘*Ōiwi* apart from other journals that focus entirely on the work of one particular group is that it features nā mana‘o of our kūpuna in addition to contemporary work—a distinctly cultural trope. Using kukākukā, or dialogue, at its center—makes visible the dialogic process between writer and reader, between

editorial staff (in the editors' note or Nā Luna o 'Ōiwi), between writers, and most importantly, between and across generations, as writing allows us to engage in dialogue with our kūpuna—'Ōiwi documents the written mo'okū'auhau of Native Hawaiian resistance.

I use mo'okū'auhau here to invoke both our deep-seated simultaneous connection to our kūpuna, our mākuā, and our successive kamali'i through koko and ka 'ao'ao Hawai'i, or our way of life, as well as the way which genealogical relationships are used today to "establish our collective identity via a social network of extended 'ohana...[and to] define our lāhui" (Cover Art Note 'Ōiwi 2). Mo'okū'auhau also expresses the way in which the past of our kūpuna, the present of ourselves, and the future of our mo'opuna are always simultaneously linked through the blood flowing through our veins; just as a wealth of mana'o has been passed down to each of us, so too, will we pass it down to successive generations. By publishing the work of our kūpuna (Hawaiian newspapers, oli, etc.) alongside contemporary Native Hawaiian work, 'Ōiwi employs writing as a technology, just as our kūpuna did in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, to emphasize the continuity of our struggle to resist American imperialism and to demonstrate the way in which our kūpuna speak through us.

The Editors' Note in Volume 1 begins with an 'ōlelo no'eau: "Hili hewa ka mana'o ke 'ole ke kūkākūkā" (Discussion brings clarity to ideas). Like all succeeding volumes of 'Ōiwi, the Editors' Note consists of a transcription of a kūkākūkā about the themes represented in the volume between the all Native Hawaiian editorial staff. In the first Editors' Note, Māhealani Dudoit introduces 'Ōiwi as guided by genealogy and kuleana, which she defines as both "privilege" and "responsibility" (1). To this, Hawaiian language editor Laiana Wong responds that part of this guiding kuleana is to "include things in the Hawaiian language" and "to document the way we feel about things going on now in Hawaiian so that when we look back, we won't only have the English worldview" (2).

Wong's emphasis on recording the current moment in 'Ōlelo Hawai'i writing is both reminiscent of earlier efforts to use writing to preserve culture and mana'o, as well as to call for resistance and decolonization, as "culture embodies those moral, ethical, and aesthetic values...through which they come to view themselves and their place in the universe. Values are the basis of a people's identity... All this is carried by language" (Thi'ongo 15). Thus, like its printed predecessors, 'Ōiwi resists by printing untranslated mele and mo'olelo like Laiana Wong's "E Mana Iho no ke Kūloko" and "Ka Wā Halakahiki" in Volume 1. In Volume 3, resistance can be seen in Ku'uipolani Wong's "Ku'u Pua Pīkake" and Malia Ann Crowningburg Kāne's introduction to her powerful collage about Native Hawaiian dispossession, "Aia nō ke ola i ka waha; aia nō ka make i ka waha" featuring Hawaiian newspaper excerpts and the Provisional Government's Proclamation laid over photographs of Native Hawaiians, including that of Queen Lili'uokalani taken after the Overthrow. It is significant that Kāne overlays images over the mouths of those photographed to emphasize the oppressive silencing of our kūpuna and 'Ōlelo Hawai'i.

As mentioned earlier, Volume 1's title, "He oia mau no Kākou," or "We Go On," emphasizes the survival, ongoing struggle and presence of Native Hawaiians in the face of colonization. Because it is the title of the first collection of Native Hawaiian writers and artists produced by an all-Native Hawaiian editorial staff, it also indicates that the art and literature the journal contains what Haunani-Kay Trask sees as "a continuing refusal to be silent, to join those groups of indigenous people who have disappeared... Hawaiians are still here, we are still creating, still resisting" ("Decolonizing" 20). However, "He oia mau no Kākou" is also an intertextual reference to an article published in the Hawaiian nationalist newspaper, *Ke Aloha Aina*. A copy of the original is reproduced in Volume 1, along with a translation into English by Noelani Arista. Written in May 1898, five years after the Overthrow, the article assures its readers that the Provisional Government and its supporters "will be eradicated until none remains who proclaimed, 'Annexation is a blessing'" (101), while also urging Native Hawaiians to "remain steadfast until the last Hawaiian for the sovereignty of our beloved land" (102).

By publishing the article in a contemporary collection, 'Ōiwi offers this mana'o to an audience comprised of both Native Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians who were educated in accordance with American state ideology, which denied the existence of Native Hawaiian resistance. Also, because the volume's contemporary Native Hawaiian works call for sovereignty, such as in Kanalu Young's "Pule no ke Ea" (Prayer for Sovereignty) and 'Imaikalani Kalāhele's "For the 100<sup>th</sup> Year Commiseration of 1993," as well as justice, as in

Rachel Naki’s “‘A’ole maka’u i ka po’e Waiwai ‘Ili Ke’oke’o” (Have no Fear of the Rich Man with the White Skin) and Kapulani Landgraf’s “‘Ē Luku Wale Ē” (...devastation upon devastation...), the journal also stresses the continuity of resistance and nationalism among Native Hawaiians.

Published in 2002, Volume 2 again featured Native Hawaiian poetry, essays, short fiction, Hawaiian newspaper excerpts and testimony, but also includes a new addition—a “Notable Hawaiians of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century (Part I)” section. An effort to overturn the “dismal statistics, how we’re uneducated, we’re in prison, we die young...” (Ho’omanawanui 7), the “Notable Hawaiians” section was the result of nominations submitted by the Native Hawaiian community and listed 68 notable Hawaiians, many of whom had received little or no recognition for their achievements and good work. The number of Hawaiians who were nominated was so voluminous that the editorial staff created a “Part II” of the section in Volume 3 to recognize the life work of those that could not be included in Volume 2, signifying that there were no outlets for recognizing Native Hawaiians by Native Hawaiians before ‘Ōiwi.

Another theme presented in the Editors’ Note for Volume II is the role that Native Hawaiian writing plays in the healing process. While there are very little venues available for Native Hawaiians to express the “pervasive sense of loss,” as Noe Arista expresses, that most Native Hawaiians feel from the collective memory of our drastic depopulation and colonization. Thus, she contends that “articulating, recognizing, and working past that sense of loss in a forum like this journal helps us to heal. The power of ‘Ōiwi is that it provides a venue for seeing these things and bringing them to the surface” (4-5). Leslie Stewart also asserts that ‘Ōiwi’s existence as an educational resource is important for Native Hawaiian children, as they need “stories...that are a part of their culture and heritage so they can have role models, so they can be proud of who they are and where they come from” (6). Here, Arista and Stewart both express a new purpose for writing by Native Hawaiians—that of healing and uplifting a people, which can only occur through an outlet for free expression and dialogue—for *sovereignty of the mind*, a concept Noenoe Silva asserts in *Aloha Betrayed*, describing how Native Hawaiians were and are forced to “preserve [an] inner domain of cultural identity” (7).

Taken from the famous oli within the mo’olelo of Hi’iakaikapoliopole, this volume’s title, “Kūnihi ka Mauna” (Steep Stands the Mountain) represents, on the surface, a strong connection to the Native Hawaiian oral literary tradition. The word *kūnihi* is chanted throughout the mo’olelo as Hi’iaka arrives at various locations during her journey to fetch Lohi’au, Pele’s lover. It is a mele kāhea, or entrance chant, expressing “the traditional Hawaiian attitude of not ‘barging in’ where one does not have kuleana...of showing respect for the people, place, and culture where one is an outsider. Although Hi’iaka is a goddess, she must still pay respect to the ‘āina and to those who have kuleana over it, as well as those who have traveled the path she now seeks to travel” (Ho’omanawanui v). The invocation of *kūnihi* through the writing on the cover of Volume 2, therefore, urges a re-awakening of the mele kāhea, “on behalf of all those seeking permission to enter into the sharing of mana’o ...and mana” contained within the collection... It is also chanted at the closing as a request from all seeking to enter into the new wā...ever mindful of our relationship to this ‘āina and to those who came before us and who will come after us” (v).

Using ‘Ōiwi as a locative, written space, or a *literary hale* (one that is distinctly Native Hawaiian) emphasizes the Hawaiian cultural belief in the power and autonomy of words, especially in oli and pule, where words have the ability to actualize. In Volume 2, words have actualized the hale that is the collection of the Native Hawaiian community’s mana’o and mo’olelo. Thus, a mele komo is given in response to the mele kāhea before the title page:

E hea I ke kanaka  
E komo ma loko,  
E hānai ai a hewa ka waha;  
Eia nō ka uku lā ‘o kou leo,  
A he leo wale nō ʻē!

Call the person  
to come in,  
And eat until the mouth can eat no more;  
This is the reward, the voice,  
Simply, the voice!

The general sentiment is of welcoming hospitality or ho’okipa, where one invites another into the hale and offers food, though the food which is offered is the mana’o of the writers and artists, which is presented to nourish the visitor and his or her voice.

While the hale metaphor can easily be read as an exclusion of the reader as a visitor or outsider, from the writers and artists who are the hosts or insiders (an uneasy binary given the colonial need of all settlers to belong to the colonized landscape), it is also a distinction that must be made out of respect for the private space and the individuals who inhabit that space. It is only through a demonstration of this respect through the mele kāhea that the visitor may be invited to come inside, and only the invitation which saves the encounter from being a wrongful, hostile entry, or colonization. Because the hosts in this hale are Native Hawaiian, whose “powerful creativity is consciously informed by a strong identity,” the result is “a proud differentiation between those who are Native to Hawai‘i, and those who are immigrants” (Trask, “Decolonizing” 181).

There are several themes represented through Volume 2, which Māhealani Dudoit characterizes as being “focused on the individual life...[exemplifying] the relationship between the individual and history, how even though history is something that focuses on movement on a social scale, it really begins with and is constructed on the individual level, and history is made up of individual stories” (8). However, by virtue of *‘Ōiwi* being a collection of Native Hawaiian writings and art, the individual mo‘olelo come together to comprise a community in dialogue about American injustice and the particularities of our colonization and exploitation, as in Haunani-Kay Trask’s poems “Kona Kai ‘Ōpua” and “Flute of the ‘Ohe,” and Patricia Pi‘ilani Ono Nakama’s “Stolen Lands and Other Stories of Paleka Ono (nui);” continuity and our connection to our kūpuna and the land, as in Meleana Meyer’s acrylic painting on kapa, “Ke Ō Nei Nō;” Coochie Cayan’s poems “Echoes of Kuamo‘o,” “Ancient Walls,” and “Tūtū Mikala;” William Akutagawa Jr.’s “‘Ualapu’e Fishpond, Moloka‘i: Oral History from the East End;” and Lōkahi Antonio’s “Calling All Mo‘o;” calls for Hawaiian nationalism or sovereignty and resistance, as in Walaka Kanamu’s poems “Time for Sovereignty” and “‘Ike Au iā Kaho‘olawe,” which is written in ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i and Māhealani Kamau‘u’s “Queenie;” and testimonies in support of tuition waivers for students of Hawaiian ancestry at the University of Hawai‘i as a means toward beginning reparations to Native Hawaiians.

There are also “revisionist” historiographies included, which counter the colonial historical narrative, such as Arnold Hōkūlani Requilman’s “Iā ‘Oe e ka Lā: Around the World with King Kalākaua” and “A Hundred Years after the Pīkake Princess.” The excerpts selected and translated by scholar Noenoe Silva from the Hawaiian nationalist newspaper, *Ke Aloha Aina*, (establishing how the Hawaiian newspaper excerpts will be a regular feature in *‘Ōiwi*) also counter the hegemonic myth that Native Hawaiians wanted Annexation. Originally published in March 1900, seven years after the Overthrow, the first article featured, “E Hoomau i ke Kupaa no ke Aloha i ka Aina” (Persevere in your Steadfastness for the Love of the Land), urges readers to “continue to protest” over and over. The inclusion of this article and its translation bring to light our kūpuna’s tenacious and ongoing resistance against American imperialism, thus sanctifying our present resistance.

The third volume entitled *‘Ōiwi*, “Huliau,” or “Time of Change,” published in 2005, is a direct reference to the Editors’ Note of the same name in Volume 2 and is aptly named for several reasons. As explained in Volume 3’s Editorial kūkā kūkā, *huliau* is a continual transition, “when things shift, change...something that happens all the time (Wong 2); a time to “recall the past...[which] may be a helpful step towards moving progressively and positively in another direction” (Arista 2-3); as well as the “internal...[recognizing] our need to mourn together; loss is final...[and] there is a memory of us being together—as a group, a family, a nation, a community” (Akim 3). The editorial staff also recognizes the dual nature of *huliau* as both negative and positive, by recalling the Overthrow and “canoes which huli in rough seas,” as well as the huli that is “a part of the kalo that you replant to feed the nation, to sustain the next generation...regrowth, birth, and our connection to the ‘āina, to the cosmos...[the] creativity being birthed out of the universe” (Ho‘omanawanui 4). Also, on a more personal note for the editorial staff, “*huliau*” also refers to the change within the journal following Māhealani Dudoit’s passing, in honor of whom a *kanikau*, or lament, was composed and published by the editors who carry on in Dudoit’s absence. These multiple readings of “*huliau*” exemplify the art of *kaona*, the hidden, multi-layered meaning of words, which are considered within Native Hawaiian aesthetics to be the highest use of words, the most beautiful, the most truthful use, enabling the receivers of the *kaona* to have many interpretations of meaning.

The graphic design of Volume III also presents an artistic interpretation of *huliau* by Kamaka Kanekoa, who strove to highlight how in the Hawaiian culture, “objects in nature also have a representational quality,” a *kaona*, as well as how Hawaiian design is often the “marriage of opposites or complimentary pairs exhibited in the concept of *pono*, or the dualities ever present in nature” (8). To demonstrate this, Kanekoa primarily uses

the māhealani moon ‘full moon’—a kaona reference to Māhealani Dudoit as founder of ‘Ōiwi—and all of the moon’s various phases throughout the layout of the collection to emphasize huliau as a time of constant change, of ebb and flow, of balance. A different phase of the moon, thus appears by each author’s name in the Table of Contents. Kanekoa also emphasizes the time of Pō through enlarged photographs of the night sky cast in negative (with the stars dark and the surrounding sky light) as well as through the repetition of the word Pō, which also appears next to each author’s name in the Table of Contents. As pō is the primal night out of which life and all creation emerge, as well as the time of the gods and of the land, preceding the time of ao or day in the Kumulipo, his repetitive invocation is significant to the journal’s artistic endeavor. Furthermore, the cover design is the product of his and Malia Kāne’s separate art pieces overlain and collaged to illustrate darkness contrasted with a traditional Hawaiian tatau design (lei hala) representing genealogy in light colors with the word “huliau” repeated over and over. By combining their art pieces, the community and the Hawaiian value of laulima, rather than individualism, is communicated in stunning effect.

The Editors’ Note ends with a vision for ‘Ōiwi originally raised in Volume 1’s Editors’ Note, that like the Hawaiian language newspapers of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, ‘Ōiwi will “recreate a literary community...where writers from all islands [are] in dialogue with each other” (Ho’omanawanui 8). As in the earlier volumes, Volume 3 features excerpts from such Hawaiian language newspapers; however, rather than taking excerpts from *Ke Aloha Aina*, editorials were selected from two other newspapers, *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* and *Ka Puuhonua o na Hawaii*.

The editorial excerpted from *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* was originally printed in September 1861. It describes how the newspaper was created by a group of kanaka maoli “who wanted to read more material in Hawaiian, and also wanted to publish their own mo’olelo, mele, and political opinions without interference or censorship from the Protestant mission” (77). Up until its creation, all printing presses were controlled by the churches and a missionary sector of the government, leading to censorship of Native Hawaiian mana’o and mo’olelo. The excerpt also describes a meeting at Kaumakapili focused on the contention between *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* and a haole missionary newspaper called *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, which was created because *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* was deemed obscene. The mo’olelo shared through this excerpt, which is left untranslated but is described in both ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i and English in its introduction, illustrates the identification of ‘Ōiwi with *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, as ‘Ōiwi’s creation emerged within a similar literary landscape almost 150 years later. Again, both the silencing of Native Hawaiians and ‘Ōiwi’s literary heritage are emphasized.

The second newspaper excerpt is an editorial written by A. Akana taken from *Ka Puuhonua o na Hawaii*. Entitled “Ōlelo Hawaii” and published in January 1917, fourteen years after the Overthrow, the editorial is reprinted in Volume 3 in ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i without an English translation. The introduction to the editorial is also written in ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i. These choices by the editorial staff reinforce the meaning of the editorial, which expresses how our ‘ōlelo makuahine is not being taught to our keiki and is in danger of being lost. Thus, the lack of translation into English makes a powerful statement that we are still fighting for the future of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i.

As it applies to language, the multi-layered meaning of “huliau” presented in Volume 3 can immediately be tied to every aspect of Native Hawaiian identity and the political and physical landscape of Hawai‘i—as colonized people, we must live in a constant state of flux and keep resisting, and *e ho’oponopono*, collectively, making things right. While these ideas are expressed in previous volumes, the third volume demonstrates more of a primary theme linking all contributors under the aegis of Native Hawaiian Education. Essays such as Walter Kahumoku, III’s “A Tragic Indigenous Mo’olelo: The Decline of Kanaka Maoli Indigenous Identity” and Keao Nesmith’s “Tūtū’s Hawaiian and the Emergence of a Neo-Hawaiian Language” focus on language revitalization and instruction. On the other hand, Guy Kaulukukui and Noenoe Silva’s “Decolonizing the Classroom,” Manu Aluli Meyer’s “The Role of History, Intention and Function: More Thoughts on Hawaiian Epistemology,” and Kū Kahakalau’s “Towards Native Control of Hawaiian Education” emphasize how education, as an ideology of the state, must be overturned by an educational system based on Native Hawaiian values and ideology.

This volume also features five profiles of Notable Hawaiians based on oral histories, such as Mohala Aiu’s “In Celebration of my Dad, Dr. Patrick Koon Hung Charles Pi’imauna Aiu,” R. Kāwika Mekanani’s “Gabriel Kapeliela ‘I,” Keala’aumoe Inciong’s piece on her father, David Michael Kaipolaua’eokekuahiwi

Inciong and Naomi Losch's "Mary Kawena Pukui, Ka Wahine o La'i Aloha" and interviews with Dr. David Kekaulike Sing, the founder of Nā Pua No'eau, an educational enrichment program for Native Hawaiians, and Dr. James Kapaali'i Scott, the current President of Punahou School.

In addition, the testimonies featured in this volume are against the further development of Mauna Kea, to "preserve important historic and cultural sites, as well as the integrity of the sacred, open space, as well as to protect endangered native species and keep the island's main aquifer pure" ("Introduction" 121). Particularly moving was the testimony given by Noa Teale Haehu Kaukawai Helelā, who identifies himself as a "Hawaiian keiki," who "want[s] to stop the telescopes from being made...[because they will] destroy [the Wekiu bugs'] homes...[and because] it's a very beautiful, sacred mountain...it's not right to put even one telescope on that mountain" (123). Helelā's testimony further emphasizes the future and continuity of Native Hawaiian resistance in successive generations.

## 6.0. CONCLUSION

The Native Hawaiian literature and art published in *Ōiwi* highlight the fact that the concept of literary aesthetics is always political, whether or not it is recognized as such. For many of its contributors, their submissions to *Ōiwi* resulted in their first publications, validating the aesthetic and artistic merit of their work. As part of the ideological hegemony described by Gramsci, beauty is determined by the dominant power, which employs the aesthetic as a "social technology" to privilege that which serves or is most closely aligned to the dominant power and its values and aims. Invariably, this social technology is hidden to appear normative, which then, can be accepted as absolute truth, as reality, by the colonized and oppressed.

A publication like *Ōiwi* complicates this western construction of the aesthetic as a colonizing tool which invariably deems indigenous and colonized art forms to be of inferior quality or merit. However, "carving a Native Hawaiian aesthetic," as Māhealani Dudoit describes in *Ōiwi I*, holds within it a means by which Native Hawaiians may also assert nationalism. By emphasizing how beauty by Native Hawaiian standards is created through art and perceived, as well as how it changes with Native Hawaiian culture over time, western aestheticism's colonizing force can only weaken and huli. Thus, though no formal review of *Ōiwi* exists, and there is very little public attention paid to the mana'o and mo'olelo, the mana within its pages, *Ōiwi* is of tremendous value to Native Hawaiians, who finally have a means of creative expression and communication with each other and with our kūpuna, who fought for our nation.

Thus, I find inspiration in the fact that already with *Ōiwi*, we are beginning to see our literature "[address and clarify] typically nationalist themes. This is combat literature in the true sense of the word, in the sense that it calls upon a whole people to join in the struggle for the existence of the nation. Combat literature, because it informs the national consciousness, gives it shape and contours, and opens up new, unlimited horizons" (Fanon 173). From the name chant written in 1898 for Queen Lili'uokalani by Ellen Keko'aohiwaikalani Prendergast, excerpts from the 19<sup>th</sup> century nūpepa, to Native Hawaiian testimony, the journal chronicles a Native Hawaiian polemic against the hostile takeover of Hawai'i from the late 1800's to the present. This polemic is at once a site for Native Hawaiian identity solidification and production in all its fluidity.

All three volumes of *Ōiwi* are currently being studied at the University of Hawai'i and other universities throughout the continental United States and Polynesia, where it is widely used as a resource for teaching Native Hawaiian literature. They have also been incorporated into the curriculums of several literature courses. Over 7,000 copies of the journal have been sold to date, and orders from libraries and schools continue to come in. Its counter-hegemonic message is spreading.

Still, there is much work to do. Tourist brochures proliferate. Our culture and traditions continue to be exploited and obscenely mimicked by the American media. Colonial literature about us continues to assert its constructed stereotypes as truth or to erase us from the landscape altogether. And our history and ongoing struggle against American imperialism remains largely untaught.

Thus, it is only through connecting with the collective spirit of resistance of our kūpuna that we may forge ahead with a renewed and validated sense of purpose to continue that struggle through the power of words as artists, as writers. ‘Ōiwi, in creating a space for that to occur, has made a tremendous contribution to our efforts as Native Hawaiian intellectuals (in the Gramscian sense), to resist and demand justice. For now, the pathway toward decolonization has been laid before us to add to the wealth of Native Hawaiian literature and mana’o that is our inheritance and to continue to study early and contemporary Native Hawaiian work, so that we may define ourselves. For, as ‘Ōiwi wisely recognizes, it is only through engaging in kūkākūkā with our kūpuna, each other, and successive generations (as writing makes this possible) that we come closer to reclaiming ourselves and the truth of our Hawaiian-ness.

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# REASONABLE DOUBTS: GUS LEE & THE REPRESENTATION OF RACE

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## ABSTRACT

While lawyers often find themselves ridiculed in American culture, they are also held in high regard as prime examples of the mythical "Great American Hero." Yet if they embody all that is good from American democracy—individuals who represent the myth of America itself—then what happens when you give the familiar Caucasian hero an Asian face, as Gus Lee does in his legal thriller, *No Physical Evidence*? Utilizing the work of critics of Asian American literature and detective fiction, this essay will both contextualize and critique the vision of Chinese Americans presented in Gus Lee's curious hybrid text.

## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

Whether in espionage thrillers and bodice-ripping romances or ghost stories and sci-fi epics, white Americans often see themselves heroically represented in commercial fiction. Asian Americans, however, do not enjoy this luxury, and the legal thriller is no exception to this exclusionary practice. While the mere thought of an attorney as a positive figure might be laughable to some, lawyers have a paradoxical status in our society. In one sense, lawyers are reviled: the butt of numerous jokes and examples of what's wrong with the increasingly litigious nature of American culture. But the American lawyer also holds a prestigious place in our society. From Atticus Finch and Perry Mason to the legal heroes of John Grisham's bestselling novels, the lawyer is another great American hero, righting wrongs for the common folk. As a result, lawyers have been and remain role models, perhaps in part due to the advent of the legal thriller, an offshoot of the mystery novel. More generally, Mary Beth Pringle notes that "stories venerating lawyers almost always end up affirming the system and the moral values the system represents. No matter how flawed or how 'sleazy,' the government almost invariably gets the job done" (16). The popularity of such fiction is undeniable: one need only examine the box office grosses of John Grisham film adaptations for evidence of that. On television, one can view *Law and Order* and its various spin-offs, and an increasing number of *People's Court*-inspired television shows. Furthermore, the popularity of the television channel Court TV demonstrates that the legal system itself is as much a part of American entertainment culture as the Wild West. As a result, the lead characters in legal thrillers retain an important role in our culture. Pringle explains: "The hero protagonist in each novel embodies the good that can come from law in a democracy" (23).

Yet if this protagonist embodies all that is good from American democracy—an individual who, in a sense, represents the myth of America itself—then what happens when you give the familiar Caucasian hero an Asian face? That's exactly what Gus Lee does in his 1998 book, *No Physical Evidence*. Set in Sacramento, the book revolves around Joshua Jin, a district attorney assigned to prosecute a rape case he seemingly has no hope of winning. Gus Lee, author of *China Boy* (1991), *Honor and Duty* (1994), *Tiger's Tail* (1996), and *Chasing Hepburn* (2003), takes a fast-paced legal thriller and infuses it with the cross-cultural concerns of a Chinese American protagonist. And it is in the merging of these two seemingly disparate forms—commercial fiction and ethnic literature—that the real substance of the story begins to take shape.

But as with Dale Furutani's earlier attempt to integrate both the formulaic and the ethnic in his Asian American-themed mystery novels, certain generic requirements must be fulfilled to satisfy the novel's intended audience. Critic Jerry Palmer claims that a thriller "intends to arouse one predominant emotion: the excitement of suspense" (61). George Dove echoes Palmer: "The purpose is to maintain suspense, to keep the reader turning pages. The writer may have any number of private purposes, (advancing an ideology, satirizing a fault), but the inherent purpose of popular fiction is to absorb the reader" (55). When this private purpose has to do with race and culture, a peculiar tension exists within the work, as the case with Furutani's *Death in Little Tokyo* and *The Toyotomi Blades* suggested. A writer must keep these separate narrative strands from conflicting, and a certain measure of sophistication is required to pull off this feat. To his credit, Lee acquits himself rather well in this task. In *Asian American Novelists: A Bio-Bibliographical Critical Sourcebook*, John Hawley writes:

Lee's genre manipulation continue[s] in *No Physical Evidence*, with a similar fluctuation of tone and skewing of reader expectations. He plays with the hard-bitten Jack Webb jargon ("just the facts, ma'am") that readers of detective fiction recognize, and even the novelist's use of an intriguing (and



hopeless) case to lift his protagonist from the depths of depression will be familiar. But the fact that the detective in question is Chinese American breaks the stereotype. (190)

Early Asian American literature displays a number of writing modalities: autobiographical stories, quests for identity, assimilation narratives, etc. Though the number one purpose of *No Physical Evidence* is maintaining suspense, it is also an "Asian American text" because these aforementioned modes invariably rise to the surface. In fact, *No Physical Evidence* reflects what David Palumbo-Liu argues in *Asian/American: Historical Crossings of a Racial Frontier*:

There is, therefore, a doubleness in Asian American literary texts, which serve as representatives of an eccentric "ethnic" literature as well as models of successful assimilation to the core. The double function oscillates between the persistence of a fetishized "ethnic dilemma" and specifically achieved "healing." (396)

In *No Physical Evidence*, Gus Lee uses the legal thriller to weave an effective metaphor for the Model Minority myth, giving readers Joshua Jin, an Asian American protagonist grappling with a bifurcated sense of self. Whereas Furutani sought to address cultural issues head-on, Lee takes a slightly different track. For the most part, Lee does not give short courses in Asian American history under the guise of the mystery genre. His representation of ethnic identity, however, does contain an undeniable strain of exoticism that raises some questions about the novel and its hero. As the text explores the "either/or" dichotomy once more, one begins to wonder if Josh's very identity is assimilated enough to play the role of the All-American hero, but also "Oriental" enough to whet the palates of non-Asian audiences looking for a little side dish of exoticism to complement the main course—the legal thriller itself.

## 2.0. PRETRIAL MATTERS

Although *No Physical Evidence* deals with the life of a Chinese American man, the novel is first and foremost a commercial thriller. Consider the blurb on the back cover:

Deputy District Attorney Joshua Jin is up against the wall. With his life in crisis, he is forced to take on a politically charged case involving the rape of a thirteen-year-old girl. The victim refuses to talk. The ex-con charged with the crime was arrested on a hunch. And... *there is no physical evidence*. Under immense pressure to win a conviction, Jin must earn the confidence of his stone-silent client, a troubled teenager who trusts no one. Working against a brilliant, high-priced defense attorney who wants nothing more than to crush the opposition—particularly when her opposition is Josh Jin—he throws his heart and soul into an impossible case that is far more explosive than he had ever imagined.

The synopsis alone suggests that Lee has crafted a successful commercial piece, but the overall reaction to this book was decidedly mixed. On the first page of the paperback edition, one finds Amy Tan's rave review: "Once I started reading Gus Lee's book, I couldn't put it down. I was spellbound. As with Gus Lee's other books, this one has the kind of passion that can break your heart... a fast-paced story with suspense, heart, and redemption." Of course, review blurbs are just yet another form of marketing, but here the hyperbole is all the more transparent for those willing to look up the actual reviews. In fact, the seeming raves excerpted from numerous sources, including *The Washington Post*, *Library Journal*, *The San Francisco Chronicle*, *The Chicago Tribune*, *The Orlando Sentinel*, *The Colorado Springs Gazette*, *Kirkus Reviews*, and *Publishers Weekly*, don't actually reflect the reviewers' final evaluations of the book, which range from marginal recommendations to outright critical pans.

These reviews generally deal with the novel's "game content" more than its success, failure, or overall value as a cross-cultural text. In that sense, the book *succeeds* as a commercial work: none of the reviewers complain about ethnic issues interfering with the mystery formula. I, however, will look directly at how Gus Lee slips in an assortment of cultural asides into the text, and what implications these revelations have for both the novel and its relation to the overall schema of Asian American literature. These topics are familiar, for as John Hawley writes, "Gus Lee's thematic preoccupations seem to stem from two sources: his desire as a Chinese American to find a niche in the larger and potentially dismissive American society and his desire to identify and cultivate the characteristics of masculinity as traditionally defined in Chinese tradition, and more importantly, in contemporary American culture" (186).

### 3.0. EXHIBIT A: THE SELF-MADE AMERICAN HERO

William F. Wu has noted that Charlie Chan's "solitary position as an Asian American protagonist renders him the representative of good Chinese American citizens simply by default" and "the resulting implication is that as a detective and a protagonist, Charlie Chan is the best Chinese Americans have to offer" (175). In contrast, Joshua Jin, embodies the traits of the traditional American hero. In *Thrillers: Genesis and Structure of a Popular Genre*, Jerry Palmer maintains that "professionalism" must be the hero's central attribute. This consummate professionalism involves qualities that enable the hero to learn and be self-reliant. Gus Lee's positioning of Joshua Jin as the successful lawyer hero transforms the Asian American male from effeminate stereotype to real human being; for what does a man's proficiency at his job confirm in American culture, but a formalized sense of masculinity?

By writing a legal thriller, Lee follows the same track taken by the many Asian American authors who preceded him. As Patricia P. Chu writes, "One of the central, ideological tasks accomplished by Asian American literary texts is the construction of Asian American subjects through the transformation of existing narratives about American identity" (3-4). The correlation between a legal thriller and a story about identity may not be as readily apparent as the correlation between a story about identity and the bildungsroman - a connection nonetheless exists.

Unlike the often subordinated Charlie Chan, Joshua Jin appears front and center in the story. Described as "big and broad-shouldered" (70), Josh is not only a boxer, but a former homicide detective—clearly, the consummate tough guy. When a criminal threatens him with brass knuckles, he reacts swiftly: "I hooked him in the gut and he grunted politely. I shuffled to his right and put another hook into the hard skull, then went left, landing another to the jaw to invite a change in attitude" (255). These details forcefully counter images of emasculation and re-position Josh not as a perpetual foreigner, but as a real American. Although there is nothing uniquely American about boxing, detective work, or physical intimidation, these traits in sum align him with familiar figures from American pop culture, from the hardboiled detective to the Wild West cowboy, making Josh Jin yet another example of the quintessential American hero.

Echoes of Raymond Chandler, albeit with a Chinese American sensibility, can be heard in Josh's inner monologues: "I like dangerous women. I like to beat the hell out of men I hate. I do not respect my stepfather, even though the Master K'ung says I must. I am not virtuous" (74). In these lines, Josh rejects the role of the good Confucian son, embracing instead a life of danger, high adventure, and rugged individualism. Furthermore, despite the sensationalized nature of the genre, Gus Lee's novels are "decidedly autobiographical" (Hawley 186), a trait that places him firmly within the tradition that typified early works in Asian American literature. Much like his lead character, Lee boxed and even worked for the Sacramento County District Attorney's office, suggesting that he has lived a life not too far removed from Joshua Jin's, fictionalized as it may be.

As Hawley also notes, Lee focused on personal issues of race and assimilation in *China Boy* and *Honor and Duty*, but with *Tiger's Tail* and *No Physical Evidence*, he changed course:

One can notice Lee's focus shifting gradually away from his early abiding sense of alienation. In its place have appeared more haunting questions of responsibility that the author, having himself come to terms with his own cultural assimilation as an Asian American, is apparently allowing to rise to fuller consciousness and examination—questions that are less ethnically based than were his earlier questions of identity. (186)

Hawley suggests that Lee's concerns, particularly in *No Physical Evidence*, have become "simply American." One can see this switch late in the novel. When Josh's tough-as-nails associate, Harry, threatens to rough up an informant, the lawyer simply points to a "tattered American flag on the pole" (254), a move which promptly ends the conversation. Here, in one small gesture, a Chinese American lawyer becomes the symbolic defender of the American democratic process and civil rights in general. Within the context of his professional life at least, Josh consistently asserts a wholly American identity.

#### 4.0. EXHIBIT B: INTERRACIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND NARRATIVES OF ASSIMILATION

But as the saying goes, appearances can be deceiving. Although Josh inhabits the role of the traditional hero, the book raises the possibility that such a privileged position is undeserved. Consider this verbal tête-à-tête with high-powered defense attorney, Stacy August:

“Josh, you’ve mastered the role of the good Anglo lawyer.”  
 “Well, I don’t want to brag.”  
 “You shouldn’t, honey. You did it by watching movies.” (205)

Stacy’s comments have several implications. First, she does not say “good lawyer,” but “good Anglo lawyer,” a highly-charged phrase which suggests that the words *good* and *Anglo* should be treated synonymously. Second, she implies that Josh has become something he is not. Finally, her cutting remark about movies assumes that he has achieved this feat in an illegitimate way. If Stacy’s words are true, then Josh’s success becomes a story of assimilation, and as a member of the minority group that has taken on the customs and attitude of the dominant culture, Josh *is* assimilated. But the word *assimilation* still suggests that he is an outsider. How do we reconcile this with his American upbringing? And where exactly did Stacy August get her culture? Does the color of her skin entitle her to the unproblematic absorption of popular American culture, while for Josh, this process can only amount to a gross parody? Stacy August may indeed be a “good Anglo lawyer,” but she leaves gender out of the equation, furthermore suggesting her obliviousness to her own imitative strategies. Still, her remarks raise the issue of assimilation, allowing Josh to reflect. He responds to her dismissive comment about watching movies by saying that he got his culture “like the rest of the world” (205). He then thinks about this inheritance:

People around the globe pay billions to see the idealized American male win—armed, dangerous, and alone against great odds. Better to be tough than smart. Cowboy culture. If it’s a horse, ride it. If it’s a fence, jump it. If it hurts, hide it. (205)

Clearly, Josh sees himself as a part of this all-American cowboy culture. At this point, assimilation is a total non-issue—in his view, he’s American as apple pie. That self-assertion seems natural considering what has been mentioned previously about his character, but will prove odd given what he will later claim about his Chinese identity.

Josh’s verbal jousting with Stacy August also leads into another discussion tangentially related to assimilation. Early in the novel, it’s revealed that Stacy once had a sexual relationship with Josh—an on-again, off-again romance that ended when he pursued and eventually married Ava Vincent. When the bitter Stacy confronts him about why he ended the relationship, he offers this explanation: “I was Caucasian-challenged. You were a blonde princess” (74). This comment, however, makes little sense given that he dumped Stacy to pursue and ultimately marry another white woman.

The typical issues revolving around interracial relationships do arise, albeit briefly. For Ava, he “was the first Asian she had seen socially” (14), and Josh himself admits, “To the shock of her parents and the extravagant relief of my mother, we exchanged troths” (14). While at the time, his mother seems happy that her son got married, later in the novel, he reveals that she would have preferred he married “a nice Chinese girl.” This desire also informs Josh’s encounters with the Chinatown community, where he is often asked why he never married someone of his own ethnicity. The motivations for this curiosity range from simple concern to stereotyped notions of servile Asian women, yet Josh himself never adequately deals with this question. In fact, his attraction (or lack of it) for women of Chinese descent is never fully clarified. When social worker Kimberly Hong raises the issue, he promptly changes the subject.

“So I wondered—does he have a Chinese wife to comfort him? I hear she is white. Yes, I speak my mind. Like with Rachel. How many saw her and said nothing?”  
 “You think only Chinese women make good wives?”  
 “No. But Chinese women know men better. We’ve been helping you for thousands of years. You know, if I married a *gwailo*, he would make me feel *more* different. Is this true?”  
 I looked for Rachel. “Has Rachel been psych eval’d?” (59)

When Hong later asks why Josh didn't marry a Chinese girl, he does not respond at all, turning introspective instead: "Ma never asked that question aloud, but I had heard it. Questions had ended with Summer's birth. Ava forgave mother's bigotry" (106–107). Curiously, Josh quickly dismisses his mother's attitude toward Ava, yet never suitably examines his own personal biases. What's more interesting, he never answers Hong's question. The conversation ends shortly thereafter, as does the chapter.

On the one hand, Lee's reasons for making Joshua Jin's wife white simply may be a case of "write what you know," since Lee's own wife is Caucasian. But Josh's romantic interest solely in white women, and the negative outcomes of those interracial romances—his relationship with Stacy ends badly, and his marriage is on the rocks as the novel opens—seem to reflect the fate of most interracial relationships in early Asian American literature. Perhaps in refashioning himself as the American cowboy, Josh adds an attraction to white women as part and parcel of that constructed image. But this attraction, and the eventual disappearance of interest in other women—Chinese or otherwise—veers close to a kind of racial trophy wife syndrome—a curious reversal of the typical fetishized portrayal of Asian women. This evaluation may be too cynical, and the fact that Josh and Ava eventually reconcile does suggest a more positive outlook on interracial relationships. Nevertheless, the ever-present friction between Chinese and American cultures is shown time and again to be one of the primary reasons for Josh's strained marriage.

### 5.0. EXHIBIT C: ASSERTING CHINESE IDENTITY OR SELLING THE ORIENTAL?

Although Joshua Jin is not a character in the midst of an identity crisis, consciously wrestling with his own sense of self like some characters in Asian American literature, the battle does rage on in *No Physical Evidence*, frequently without the protagonist even being conscious of it. While Josh seems to be asserting his American identity in the previously mentioned passages, there are even more instances where his overriding sense of "Chinese-ness" takes precedence. The first inkling of this technique occurs when Ava complains about Josh's "Chinese memory," claiming that he "think[s] in two worlds—American movies and Chinese aphorisms" (40). In a later passage, she complains about his mourning process, saying, "I know you're not being malicious—it's that damn Chinese grief. Honoring her with pain" (42). Later, she describes his unforgiving nature as "exact[ing] a Chinese price" (74). In these passages, certain qualities are treated as if they are peculiarly Chinese, and thus incomprehensible to Western sensibilities—the inscrutable Oriental stereotype. And yet, while all these comments could perhaps be written off as the stereotyped views of a distraught white character and not Josh's own feelings, he later is shown to *share* her views.

Consider this catalogue of Josh's personal revelations: "My Chinese memory was too strong" (166); "I would fight with Chinese patience and Mongolian ferocity" (63); "I shivered as something crawled into my Chinese guts" (96); "I sent a Chinese message: You can screw with me, but do not mess with my victim" (263). All of these comments beg the question: what is so Chinese about any of these qualities? Associating particular traits with certain ethnic or religious groups through stereotypes is, of course, quite common. As a popular text though, does the book's habit of ascribing a Chinese quality to certain things somehow play into stereotyped notions of the exotic Oriental? Is Lee's tendency to define his hero's actions or emotions as Chinese somehow meant to pique the interest of mainstream audiences?

Significantly, Lee's Asian American protagonist rarely alludes to American culture, instead relying on Chinese culture and mythology for reference points. *No Physical Evidence* features such statements as it "felt as if Chinese gods had dropped a stupidity packet in my brain and were adding hot water" (10) and "Great jumping tea of China, she's married" (12). Lee also invokes Chinese mythology when his character is grieving: "I put my head down and cried horribly, as if I were Chang-o, the distant and saddened lady of the moon, swept away by the faces of females, of yin and blind feelings, helpless before the cruelty of cold, cadaverous, frigid lunar gravities, seized by emotion, against which culture, learning, training, education, reasoning, logic, and testosterone meant nothing" (97). What person, let alone a Chinese American man, thinks like this? Clearly, Joshua Jin for one, as Lee makes sure of throughout this work.

At one point, Josh thinks, "I was as animated as ten Chinese gods" (18), later stating that "Ava. . . whispered like my mother in a Confucius temple, a Chinese woman hushed by the crowding of watching ancestors who judged every tone, every word, every look" (41). At another point, he describes the sounds of a girl shuffling some sweetener packets as "Making the sound of a Chinese girl's slippers on a dark Shanghai rug" (261). These metaphors arguably approach the level of the pseudo-Confucian aphorisms spouted by Charlie

Chan—a strange development considering Josh’s upbringing in the United States and his earlier rejection of traditional Chinese mores. The novel even concludes with the following lines: “I thought of an old saying of my people. *Chi de ku zhong ku fang zhi tian shang tian*. After suffering, one knows happiness” (372). This comment is certainly relevant to the plot, but it has other implications. First of all, Josh calls the Chinese “his people.” Whatever assertions he made previously about his American identity, Josh reasserts his Chinese heritage at the end of the novel. The passage also contains an aphorism, yet he employs it differently than Charlie Chan in the sense that Chan would often use the sayings to illustrate a point, but Josh uses it as part of an internal monologue, meant only for himself. Yet on a meta-textual level, it is meant for the reader as well. Is this simply a case of an author sharing interesting facts for the readers’ enjoyment, or another example of the commodification of Chinese culture? Whatever Lee’s purpose, the ethnic performance in *No Physical Evidence* occasionally rings false.

As is oftentimes the case, this “falsity” takes center stage in Lee’s depiction of Chinese food. Perhaps taking a page from the “you are what you eat” school of thought, Lee has his protagonist frequent Chinese restaurants throughout the novel:

We went to China Moon Café by the Confucius Temple, where a square block of Asian businesses are framed by curving, hot, green Chinese roofs and gray, squat stone temple lion dogs with imperial postures and ferocious snarls. She had tomato beef. I had vegetarian *chow fun* and medicinal green tea. (233)

Josh and his associates even order Chinese takeout when they can’t go to the restaurant, and although this could just be an unremarkable coincidence, things get more complicated when we examine how Josh describes Chinese food via the novel’s first person perspective. “‘Try the black bean *chow fun*,’ he says, before thinking to himself, ‘Succulent noodles in a breathtakingly rich sauce that would soften the gallstones of a San Francisco food critic’” (7). Still later, he observes that “We passed Celestial Bakery, inhaling *char siu bao*, sweet barbecued pork buns, and *gai-lan*, hardy Chinese broccoli in rich oyster sauce” (44). Again, what Chinese American would think or talk like this? This veritable “food pornography” never stops: “The autumn air was thin and soft. It accented the scents of oolong tea and hot *dim sum*, Chinese high tea tidbits of encased shrimp and pork, taro-wrapped glutinous rice, foil-wrapped chicken, and sweet buns holding small surprises that were kind to the heart” (360). Is this a legal thriller or an ad for a Chinese restaurant?

Certainly, one could argue that these foods are delicious, so what’s the harm in describing them as such? Yet it is still ludicrous to think that a Chinese American character would actually behave like this. Perhaps more than any other aspect of the novel, these far-too-loving descriptions confirm that this novel is written for the popular market with a predominantly Caucasian readership. So are these descriptions meant to pique the readers’ interest in the “Exotic Orient,” with an Asian American twist? Is this a guided tour of Chinatown, as was so often the case in the Asian American autobiographies written in the early twentieth century? Is this Neo-Orientalism for the modern age? It’s highly unlikely that any of this is Lee’s intention as an artist. The sheer outrageousness of the food exoticism on display in *No Physical Evidence* smacks of editorial interference, but despite an overture to Lee’s talent agency, I was unable to obtain an interview to find out the truth.

## 6.0. FINAL ARGUMENTS: THE MODEL MINORITY MYTH

With this dual identity paradigm in place—a false one, as some critics of Asian American literature would claim—we can view the entire novel as a metaphor for the Model Minority myth. Stuck prosecuting a case without a single shred of physical evidence, saddled with a hostile judge, and opposed by a powerhouse defense attorney, Joshua Jin is in a no-win situation: “A lousy political Chinatown case where the kid and I are the pawns” (43). Though the formula here is no different from many imposed on white protagonists, Josh’s ethnicity ups the ante considerably, as he is given the proverbial “Chinaman’s chance” of winning (something that is stated outright in the text at one point). While watching the jury’s reaction to Stacy August, for instance, he thinks, “They looked forward to Wonder Woman, full of grace, blowing the socks off Charlie Chan, the ambitious, stiff, corn-cobbed Chinese DA who would convict the innocent” (199). Before the case even begins, Josh finds himself already battling against preconceived notions of who and what he is as an Asian American male.

Considering the behind-the-scenes politics of the situation, his task only worsens. He only has two options: 1) drop the case and speak to the Chinatown community to assuage their demands, 2) take the case, but only if he can guarantee a victory. If he fails to get a guilty verdict, his boss will likely lose his job since "Chinatown would likely decide the election" (50). The D.A. needs the Asian vote, and to him, Josh is "five thousand votes in a close race" (17).

To understand Josh's unique subject positioning, we again need to reflect on the figure of Charlie Chan:

[He] exemplifies the model-minority American, who is willing to be put through certain paces by white Americans in order to prove himself to them; who never exhibits direct anger, frustration, or displeasure at white people; and who has no desires involving white society other than the execution of his assigned job. (Wu 181)

Gus Lee plays with this paradigm, but tweaks it somewhat. While Josh does have to prove himself, he is allowed to exhibit a range of emotions unseen in previous Asian American characters. Lee seems to suggest that even though this model minority paradigm is still at work, his protagonist is well aware of his environment and consciously struggling against it. Ultimately, Josh puts the "bad guys" in jail, but the situation unravels in such a way that his boss, Conover, loses his job anyway. In that sense, Josh is not a pawn, but a man who negotiates his way through an imperfect system and comes out on top.

But it is that very "negotiation" process that brings the Model Minority myth to the forefront. It is clear that Josh must deal with prejudice, in its myriad of forms, on a daily basis. As mentioned previously, Stacy August implies that his American hero act is just that—an act. In her estimation, he is little more than a whitewashed Chinese American. At work though, he must face people with stereotyped conceptions of Asians: "And all you Chinese guys, yur [sic] real smart" (20). Still later, a reporter asks him, "Do you think, in view of the O.J. Simpson case and Judge Ito, that Asian-Americans are poorly suited to trial work?" (331). Even Josh's boss harbors stereotyped conceptions. When he sits on Josh's desk, the following exchange occurs:

"Well, you're Chinese. You got that politeness thing."  
 "Get your damn butt the hell off my desk, right now."  
 Tommy recoiled into the chair.  
 "Just kidding," I said politely. (16)

While Gus Lee undercuts the situation with humor, the racial tension is still there—a trait that seems representative of Josh's *modus operandi*, for he often employs humor to defuse racial tensions, while at the same time highlighting the racism in the situation.

In his struggle, Josh is fighting a war on two fronts. Within the Chinese community, he is expected not only to bring the case to trial but convict the defendant: "Chinatown was pushing itself onto the city council with the subtlety of an atomic bomb" (27). He is criticized for his success by Kimberly Hong, "You have perfect English and education and you forget your own people. You share water but your clan's well is dry" (46). Later, her feelings become even more pronounced: "You're the minority bureau chief for Conover. His minority community fireman, his Uncle Tom, his Uncle Banana, yes?" (47). Josh ignores her comment, but her rant isn't over:

"Never see you. No come New Year banquet or Historical Society dinner or fund-raiser. Oh, checks, yes. Written by your wife, who is not Chinese." She pointed a finger. "You talk of *guanxi*! You do not live in the community! You do not even live in Sacramento! You live with the *gwailo laoshi*, white professors, in Davis! You think we don't see?" (48)

Hong ridicules Josh for his so-called "whiteness," yet she often praises him for his success, and wants to use him as a tool to serve the community. And during a short Q&A, a San Francisco TV journalist prods him even further: "You know the case has drawn attention in San Francisco because you're Asian. Asian-Americans are looking at you as a role model. How much pressure does that add to your job?" (247). Even as he is venerated as a Chinese American hero, he is also the object of ridicule from that same community because of where he lives, who he marries, and the company he keeps. Paralleling the trial itself, Josh is in a no-win situation, for any success characterizes him immediately as a kind of cultural sellout. By the story's end, it seems

clear that Josh's professional achievements will be interpreted as assimilation by both sides, so his only option is to carve out a little niche of his own—in this case, a family unit of wife and child—that will serve as a personal no man's land lying beyond the realm of race and culture.

## 7.0. THE VERDICT

Since the publication of *No Physical Evidence*, Gus Lee has not returned to the character of Joshua Jin, nor has he explored any other type of popular fiction. And while some strides have been made in detective fiction since the novel's release, no Asian American authors have taken on the task of writing more legal thrillers. *No Physical Evidence* was a pioneering work, but for now it remains a solitary experiment in popular legal fiction.

Although the first of its kind, Lee's narrative reads very much like a transitional work. It strikes a precarious balance between the demands of commercial fiction and the themes of ethnic literature, yet from a contemporary perspective, it seems to have one foot in the future, while the other is stuck firmly in the past. Certainly, Lee gives his readers a by-the-book mystery that addresses cultural concerns in a substantial fashion, but his overall portrayal of Chinese and Chinese American identity still leaves something to be desired, as it unnecessarily exoticizes the culture for mass consumption.

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# THE SUSHI BAR AT THE EDGE OF FOREVER

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## ABSTRACT

What if your entire life turned out to be a work of fiction? That's the curious problem facing Sanjuro Jones when he comes face-to-face with the man who created him. However, things don't go quite as smoothly as planned when an irate Sanjuro gives "God" a little lesson about free will! Even as he teeters on the brink of all-out blasphemy, will Sanjuro actually be the one man who is able to meet his maker and live to tell the tale?

## THE STORY

I've always thought that the little moments in life count just as much as the big ones. If you really stopped to think about it, you'd probably go insane. I mean, say your shoelaces come untied. If you bend down to tie them, you just might end up meeting the love of your life. But if you ignore it and walk just a little bit farther — WHAM! — you're flattened by an out-of-control eighteen-wheeler. One little moment changes your life forever. Or ends it.

I'm not sure how many of those little moments it took to get me halfway across the world, but there I was — stranded in Singapore, attending Asialex2006, a conference on "Words in Asian Cultural Contexts." All thanks to fate, God, or the world of happy coincidences. Heck, maybe L. Ron Hubbard was to blame.

Whatever the case, I was bored out of my mind. As the day's proceedings came to a close, I slipped towards the back of the room and detached myself from the crowd, making my way to the hotel lobby. Once inside the elevator, I punched the button for the tenth floor. Next to the buttons were tiny signs indicating where all the hotel facilities were located. The Millennium Restaurant was on the second floor. The outdoor swimming pool and the gymnasium were on the fifth. And the popular J-Bar was on the ninth. But there was one listing I hadn't noticed earlier, a place located on floor "12A."

### MUGEN

#### Japanese Steakhouse and Sushi Bar

I had a hunch that Mugen was a classy dive and, since I was still dressed in my best suit and tie, I decided I'd try it out for dinner. Stepping out of the elevator onto what I assumed was the thirteenth story, I was greeted by a slate grey corridor with matching marble floors. Large cubes were cut out in the walls, and inside were flower vases filled with Easter lilies dotting the length of the hallway. As per its name, Mugen's external features were meant to look Japanese, although hyper-stylized, if not downright futuristic. Guarding the entrance were two suits of fearsome samurai armor. The door itself resembled a shoji screen, albeit, with a sleek appearance by way of Star Trek. Topping it off, a faux roof overhang made it seem as if an ancient Japanese castle had magically sprouted from within the hotel itself. As I drew closer, I couldn't hear any noise inside. The place seemed dormant. Guess I came at the wrong time.

But as I searched for some indication of whether the place was open for business, the stillness of my environment was soon disrupted when the front doors parted, revealing a bustling restaurant inside. The place was jam-packed. Maybe the walls were soundproof or something. From the look of things, I was pretty sure the meal would be pricey. But what the hell, I could afford to splurge just this once. Good thing I had worn a suit. Might've been turned away if I'd gone with my aloha shirt.

There was a slight delay between the moment the door opened and the moment a person walked through, as if the two events weren't quite connected. A young woman dressed in black slacks, a white dress shirt, and a black tie greeted me as I approached the reservation counter. She was probably in her early twenties. Very pretty. In fact, she looked a lot like—

"Irasshaimase," she said.



"Howdy," I replied. Unless she thought I was a Japanese tourist (and since I'm only half-Japanese, she'd only be half right), she'd probably revert to English or Mandarin once the traditional greeting was out of the way. But just to be on the safe side, I figured I'd speed up the recognition process with my Oklahoma twang. Sure, I could have spoken in Japanese, but I just didn't feel up to it.

Perhaps still dazed by my "howdy," the woman smiled uncomfortably. "Do you have a reservation?"

I shook my head.

"How many in your party?"

"Just me, ma'am. Just me."

"Regular dining or sushi bar?"

"The sushi bar will do nicely."

While her face betrayed no inkling of recognition, somehow I felt I knew her. But from where, I wasn't exactly sure. Before I could ask, a waitress in a traditional kimono appeared and led me to the sushi bar. There were three empty stools, so I took the one in the middle for comfort's sake. Before long, a glass of tea was placed in front of me and, soon, a hot towel was in my hands. After checking out the menu and doing some calculations in my head, I realized the food was surprisingly inexpensive. The place even had a number of my favorite dishes on the menu. Not long after I ordered, the waitress brought my dinner. After a cursory "Itadakimasu" to no one in particular, I dug into my meal.

About halfway through my salad, a man took the seat to my right. I acknowledged his presence with a nod, a gesture he repeated in turn. Like me, the stranger wore a suit and tie. But unlike me, he was probably wearing Armani or Brioni or some high dollar brand like that. Hell, I wouldn't know myself; all my suits come from JCPenney.

I glanced over several times and from where I was sitting, the stranger looked to be about my size. He was tan, possibly of Asian descent, although from where exactly I couldn't tell. His shaggy black hair was parted on the opposite side of mine, and some careless locks fell in his face, obscuring his left eye. The right one remained uncovered and looked about as feral as a wolf's. After the waitress took his order, he pulled out a pack of Marlboros and turned towards me.

"Got a light, pal?" he asked.

I reached into my pocket and pulled out my trusty Zippo.

"Thanks," he said.

As the stranger took a drag on his cancer stick, I noticed something on his left middle finger. A silver ring. It looked like a high school class ring, only much, much bigger. It's a special trinket they hand out to players at high school all-star games. I should know. I have the same ring at home. I stopped wearing it years ago, but there it was, on this stranger's hand.

"Excuse me," I said. "Sorry to bother you, but that's a pretty big ring."

He gazed at his hand absently. "I guess it is."

"Where did you get it?"

"It was forged in the fires of Mount Doom by the Dark Lord Sauron," he replied in a booming voice that caught the attention of some nearby diners.

I laughed and did my best Gollum impression. "So does that make it 'your precious?'"

He smiled. "Somethin' like that."

I finished my salad and wiped my mouth with my handkerchief before picking up the conversation again. "Funny thing is, though, I got one just like it."

"Is that so? I got this playing in a high school bowl game back in Oklahoma."

"Southwest Senior Bowl?"

He nodded, but was unsurprised.

"I played in that bowl, too," I said. "Starting quarterback."

"Really? I got this ring back in '97 playing wide receiver."

"Well, that's a little before my time but still, same ring, same bowl," I replied. "I'm from Marlow by the way."

The stranger didn't say anything at first. His face twisted into an expression that could only be described as quizzical. Then he paused, as if waiting for the perfect opportunity to finally let me in on a joke he'd been keeping to himself all this time. "Rush Springs," he announced proudly.

"Watermelon capital of the world? No kidding?"

"No kidding," he said.

"Damn, man. Two guys from Oklahoma towns less than ten miles apart, and we meet up in a sushi bar on the other end of the globe. What're the odds?"

"Small world."

I extended my right hand. "Sanjuro Jones."

The stranger gripped my paw firmly. The man had a good handshake, I'll give him that. "Pleased to meet you," he replied.

I narrowed my eyes when it became clear that he wasn't going to state his name, but the stranger didn't notice. Instead, he simply motioned for the waitress to come over.

"Excuse me, Miss, a bottle of your best sake for my friend and I." He turned to me. "You like sake, don't you?"

"Is the Dalai Lama Buddhist?"

The stranger grinned.

"But I can't let you pay for—"

"Don't worry. It's on me. I got plenty of, what you might call, 'disposable income.' No point in living if you can't feel alive, right?"

"Fair enough," I said. "So what brings you to Singapore?"

"Vacation," he replied. "You?"

"Academic conference."

Soon the waitress brought our sake. The stranger poured me a drink, and I returned the favor. And that's when we started talking. *Really talking*. When I think back on every real friendship I've ever had, they've always started the same way. From the very beginning, I knew we'd be friends for life, and this guy was no exception. We had a lot in common: same mindset, identical interests, even similar experiences.

"Brothers from a different mother," the stranger joked between gulps of sake.

Oddly enough though, as much as he and I had in common, it seemed like I had always gotten a little bit farther than he did. He was all-area honorable mention in football, but I was all-state. The stranger got a high score on the ACT, while my SAT score was almost perfect. He was a state finalist for the Rhodes Scholarship, but I damn near won the whole thing. And so on. The "almost" nature of our similarities was kinda eerie.

I didn't think about it too much though. We just kept talking, trading jokes, and having a heckuva good time. Strangely, I felt more focused with each passing drink. As clear-headed as I was, I have to admit my tongue did loosen up quite a bit. A lot of stuff that I had been keeping inside... well, it came out. It wasn't long before I started talking about Serena. I don't know why. After her funeral, I refused to even say her name. I had made my peace. Or so I thought. But now I was pouring my guts out to a complete stranger. A kindred spirit, perhaps, but he was still someone I had just met. Hell, I didn't even know his name!

As comfortable as I felt with the stranger, my eyes sank low when I began talking about Serena. I just sat there and told the whole sad story of how we met, how we fell in love, and how it all fell apart. When I finished and finally raised my eyes to meet his, I saw the damndest thing.

The stranger had tears in his eyes.

I thought *I* was torn up. I lived it, after all. But apparently my story had left the stranger shaken as well.

"I'm sorry," he said flatly, before clearing his throat. "So very sorry."

"Yeah, well. It's not like it's your fault. That's just life, I guess."

He put on a plastic smile and nodded repetitively before finally coming out with it. "It *is* my fault."

"I'm sorry?"

"Everything. It's my fault."

"I think you had one too many drinks there, partner."

"Sadly, I'm completely sober, Sanjuro." He took the cigarette out of his mouth, looked at it, then stubbed it out in the ashtray. "I don't even really smoke."

"Ookay," I said, looking around. "Well, I appreciate the sake. Really, I do. But maybe I should—"

"Could you wait just a moment, please?" the stranger asked, before sighing. "Well, I guess this is as good a time as any." He fidgeted in his seat then looked over his shoulder. "See that woman that greeted you at the door." I turned to look. "You recognized her, didn't you?"

"How did you—?"

"That girl reminds you of Ling, the one you dated four years ago. Ling was from Singapore, wasn't she? You couldn't quite put your finger on it, but the answer was there, lingering in the back of your unconscious. I put it there, just as I put her here."

"Why?" might have been an illogical response, but it was the only thing I could say at the time.

"To prepare you. Call it déjà vu with a twist."

"Stop yankin' my chain, pal. Tell me what this is all about."

"Hmm, I think you need to see more so you're fully ready to understand what I'm about to tell you. See that waitress over there?"

I craned my neck in her direction.

The stranger spoke in an authoritative tone. *"Overwhelmed by the heavy load, the waitress slipped, spilling her tray on an unsuspecting elderly customer."*

In seconds, the stranger's minor prophecy came true.

*"The elderly gentleman, however, was not upset. In fact, he found the whole thing amusing."*

And just as the stranger had said, the old man didn't make a scene at all. He didn't scold the waitress. And he didn't even ask to see the manager. In fact, I've never seen a man so overjoyed to have a plate of teriyaki chicken dropped on his crotch.

The stranger smiled and finished off his sake, before refilling his cup. "Sorry," he said. "I have a flair for the dramatic sometimes."

"How did you do that? How do you know about Ling?"

"The same way I know that you like the color red or that your favorite movie is *Casablanca*."

"Just who in the hell are you?"

"A friend."

"Thanks, but I got enough friends. What's your name?"

"I have many names." He reached into his pocket and took another cigarette from the pack and placed it in his mouth. I watched as he snapped his fingers and a small flame emerged from his thumb. After lighting the cigarette, the stranger shook his hand and the flame was gone. He took another drag then blew a perfect smoke ring in my direction.

"Oh, I get it. You're supposed to be Satan."

"I've been called worse. An angel with broken wings to be sure, but nah, I'm no devil."

"God then?"

"I'm a god. I'm not *the* God...I don't think."

"So now you're quoting *Groundhog Day*?"

"Good catch. I knew you'd get that."

"Of course you knew," I said. "You're a god." I gave him an impatient squint, but the stranger just let the silence hang for a bit. Guess it was up to me to figure this out. "Okay, all this double-talk is super swell, but who are you really? Is this some kind of practical joke? Who put you up to this?"

"Nobody put me up to anything. It's no joke. And to address your first question, I should tell you that *who* I am is not as important as *why* I'm here."

“Which means?”

“I’m here to help. I know all these things about you because I’m the one who made you. In my own image.”

“Really?”

“Well, I gave you a few enhancements here and there.”

“Okay, provided I’m not hallucinating right now, why are you even telling me this?”

“Before I get to that, can I just say that it’s an awfully strange feeling to be at once in control of a situation yet so totally *out of control*? I’m ‘writing’ this scenario as we speak, yet it’s happening quite differently than I envisioned.”

The stranger made air quotes when he said “writing.” I hate air quotes.

“In fact, I have no idea what’s going to happen next. You’re really throwing me for a loop here, Sanjuro.”

I popped a bit of ahi in my mouth and mulled things over. The stranger just waited. When I finally swallowed, I resumed the inquiry.

“Okay,” I began. “Let’s see if I’ve got this straight. You’re a god.”

“Well, yes and no. For all intents and purposes, I am the creator of this universe. You’re just a character here.”

“By ‘just a character,’ you’re suggesting that I’m not real.”

“I didn’t mean ‘just a character’ as a negative, but yes, you are a character. As far as reality is concerned, you’re as real as I am, I suppose. But then again, I’m technically a construct.” He stopped and sucked air in through his teeth. “Um, maybe that’s not the best—that is to say...well, you know what? Try not to think too much about that one. I mean, what is real anyway?”

“Skip the Philosophy 101 bullshit. I’ve taken the class. I’ve seen *The Matrix*. I know what’s up. Just give me some straight answers.”

“Always the comedian, Sanjuro.” When I didn’t say anything, the stranger took a deep breath. “Do you really want to know?”

“I think I’m entitled.”

“Do you believe you’re real?”

“Yes,” I said firmly although, between you and me, I was beginning to wonder.

“Then that’s enough, isn’t it?”

“What do you take me for, an idiot? Say what you’re holding back.”

“Maybe you should just finish off your unagi, chum.”

“And maybe you should just tell me what the hell is going on!”

I think I actually frightened “God” because he recoiled, ever so slightly. “Hardheaded as always,” he replied. “Fine. I don’t know if this proves or disproves whether you’re real or not, but it’ll give you something to

think about. Remember that birthday party you attended at that Teppanyaki place in Payne City? The one that occurred not long after you and Ling broke up?"

"Yeah, so?"

"What happened at the restaurant?"

"I excused myself from the party early and walked home."

"That's not the whole story, but I'll take it. What happened afterwards?"

"What do you mean?"

"When you got home, what happened?"

"It was a long time ago. Probably went to sleep. Who remembers things like that?"

"But you can recall leaving the restaurant and walking home, right? Why not what happened next?"

"Hell if I know."

"Sanjuro, it's not a foggy memory that's preventing you from telling me what happened. The reason you don't know is because *I* don't know. I never wrote that part. I never even thought of what happened after that. When I know, you'll know. Or perhaps you'll know when I write it."

"Is that how the universe really works?"

"That's how *this* universe works."

"No," I said. "That's not true. That's impossible!"

"Search your feelings, Luke. You know it to be true."

Guess I walked into that one. "Who's the comedian now?"

"Thought I'd keep up," the stranger replied, tipping back another cup of sake.

I stared at my cup. It was then that a long forgotten line of poetry entered my tiny little fictional brain. "All that we see or seem..."

"Is but a dream within a dream," the stranger finished. "That Poe guy was a kooky fellow, wasn't he?"

"That he was," I said, gripping the cup tightly. "That he was."

"Tell me, though, what's the next memory you have?"

Without hesitation, I replied, "The tornado. Happened about two weeks later."

"And then what?"

"I remember going to Texas to check up on my uncle."

"Well, the reason why you have two weeks unaccounted for is that my first novel ended with you walking out of the party. The sequel begins with the tornado."

"That doesn't prove anything," I retorted. I don't know why I was fighting. I had already accepted it. "There are gaps in anyone's memory. Besides, I remember *some* things in-between."

"I sincerely doubt it. But I won't push you on that point." The stranger held up his hand. "When I told you I got this ring in 1997, you said it was before your time. So when *is* your time exactly? When did you get your ring?"

"I don't know."

"Do you know the reason why you're drawing a great big blank right now? Because you're a fictional character meant for an ongoing series. You exist solely in the present; thus, your history can never be pinned down. You can't isolate the actual time period because I haven't set that down in writing. I bet if you think hard enough, you might just have multiple memories. Different versions of the same event having equal weight in your mind, perhaps even blurring."

*He was right.*

"Edits, I imagine. I've been working on your stories for quite a long time, Sanjuro. Every time I make a change to the novels, your memories are altered. I wasn't sure if the old ones were erased or if they blended together somehow, but I always suspected you retained some trace of your alternate histories."

"So why am I here?" I asked, defeated. "And why are you here talking to me?"

"You are here because I wanted you to exist. Your story is my life's ambition, and I've only just begun. On some level, despite the turmoil that you're obviously feeling right now, this news has got to be fairly comforting."

*"Comforting?"*

"Isn't it? To know—not to take on faith, but to actually know for a fact that God exists, that the world was created for you, and that above all, God loves you. Well, is that not comforting? I know I'm not much to look at as far as deities go, but meeting me has to be somewhat of a relief."

Well, he was right about one thing. I figured God would have looked more like Charlton Heston, not some overgrown kid in a suit. "Well," I said, "it's kinda hard for me to embrace this whole 'God Loves Me' revelation when I'm still trying to make sense of being a fictional character."

"You're taking it pretty well, all things considering."

"Thanks." I'm an agnostic and an avid comic book reader. So, in a sense, I'd been preparing for this encounter my entire life.

For a brief moment, I was almost content. And I do mean brief. Just as I was settling into this new idea of reality, Serena's beautiful face flashed through my brain. And there it was. *Discontent*. If my life was a complete fiction then that meant that certain things didn't have to happen. Certain irreversible events.

"What about Serena? I was going to marry her!" I grabbed him by the shirt collar, but the stranger remained composed. The world fell away. It was just me and my god.

"Well, that's the other reason I'm here," the stranger began. "That's why I'm talking to you. You see, I've come to apologize. You've already been through so much, I mean, for Serena to die, to lose your father, your friends..."

"She didn't have to die!" I tightened my grip. "If this isn't real, then you could have changed that. You could've made this world whatever you wanted!"

"Yes, I could have, but as hard as this may be for you to understand, Sanjuro, sometimes characters take on lives of their own. They make their own decisions and their own mistakes. And sometimes they die. I'm sorry that had to happen. I wish I could do something, but..."

"Horseshit! That's a cop-out! You created this world, right? That means you're in control. So you can write the story anyway you damn well please!"

"That's where you're wrong. If I'm in control, then why are you so angry at me? Wouldn't I prefer you to be overjoyed? To accept me? Yet wouldn't that do away with the whole purpose of me apologizing? True, this conversation exists because I permit it to exist, but you are exerting free will right now, son."

Son? I couldn't even look at him.

"About your father, your friends, and Serena, well, I-I feel bad about it. T-that's why I'm here. I'm here to..."

"Have me absolve you of your guilt?"

"Partially, I suppose. But really, I just want to bring you comfort. I want to apologize. At the very least, you can take solace in knowing that as long as I have anything to say about it, you will endure and overcome. And with any luck, you'll live happily ever after."

I just stared at the bastard. Nobody said anything for a long while.

"Sanjuro," he said timidly. "Are you okay?"

"Bloody fucking lovely."

"Is there anything *you'd* like to say?"

It took me a while to muster up the words, but when I finally did, I let 'er rip. "You're a piss-poor deity, I'll tell you that much. Every time I got stabbed in the back, every time I got my heart torn from my chest, and every time I lost someone who meant something to me, that wasn't just life. That was you!"

"Technically, I suppose, but like I said..."

"So how much money have you made off my adventures? What are you, Stephen King-level famous now?"

"Well, actually...I'm not published."

"WHAT? What did you just say to me?"

"Well, I, um, *easy there*, hoss. My works are under consideration at some publishing houses right now, but the last few seemed like they either wanted some crybaby coming of age story about ethnic identity or a lame-brained mystery without an ounce of substance to it. Guess your stories are ahead of their time."

"Or maybe you're just not a very good writer." His visible embarrassment was almost revenge enough.

"That, too, is a possibility," he said diplomatically. "But the thing is..."

"So let me see if I understand you," I interrupted. "You're telling me that not only is this world not real, but that all I've suffered never really happened or had to happen, that I myself am a figment of your imagination, and that my sole purpose for being is to make you rich and famous, yet MY STORIES AREN'T EVEN PUBLISHED!"

"Yeeaah," he said slowly while rubbing the back of his neck. "That's about the gist of it. Sorry."

What happens when you punch God? I was willing to find out.



"Hold it right there, Sanjuro. I know what you're thinking. But just hear me out. Why don't I make this up to you? Through me, all things are possible. For example, that lighter you have in your pocket, that's your father's. He meant a lot to you. And you've always wished you had a better relationship with him before he died, right? Just wait one second, and I'll give you everything you've ever wanted."

Before I could react, the stranger spoke quietly. After he finished, a cascade of memories flooded through my mind. My father. *Alive*. We were working on cars in his old workshop, fishing together, and tossing the old pigskin around. Those and hundreds of other little moments were now a part of me, connected like a chain from birth to the present instant. No arguments. No hurt feelings. No cancer. And above all, no death. All gone, now replaced by new memories, real memories, enveloping me like a warm baby's blanket. The whole thing would've been overwhelming if weren't such pure bliss.

When it was all over, the stranger put his hand on my shoulder. I was too shaken to say a word. "And now just this once, I'll..." he paused. "Now I can't do it again, but just this one time, I'll give you something I took away. *Correction*. I'll give you someone that I allowed to be taken from you."

"Giving me back my dad doesn't change a goddamn thing," I said through gritted teeth. "You can't buy my respect. Or my forgiveness. Or my love."

I could tell that my words had hurt him, but the stranger chose to mask his feelings, before finally speaking: "I don't intend to buy anything, Sanjuro. I simply want to reward you. Call it a gift from God." He mumbled something under his breath before speaking clearly once more. "Turn around."

I did. There, sitting on the stool to my left was Serena, alive and well, and more beautiful than ever.

The stranger stood up and spoke, "I'll settle the bill. Not that it really matters, but hey, might as well go through the motions. For what it's worth, I'm truly sorry. Sorry for everything that has happened. And for everything that *will* happen."

I broke my gaze with Serena and glanced at the stranger. "It can't be all bad, can it?"

He smiled and waved his hand. "Orujnas tegrof."

\* \* \*

The stranger's words were said more out of a sense of whimsy than for any practical reason. In truth, he could make Sanjuro remember as much or as little as he wanted without saying a word. The stranger was not God, but—as he had said—only a construct. When his purpose ceased to exist, so did he. When the stranger vanished, no one in the restaurant cared to notice, least of all Sanjuro.

Instead, he and Serena tried to pick up where they left off. There was no topic too great or too small for the happy couple. She was the Serena he had chosen to remember, the Serena who would be with him always, before the secrets, before the lies, and long before the suicide. The two of them joked and laughed and reconnected as lovers tend to do after a long separation. When the time came, they retired to Sanjuro's hotel room. He had never known happiness quite like this.

The next morning, Sanjuro woke up alone and wept.

Elsewhere, his true Creator stares at the page and fumbles for a happy ending.

## BAUDRILLARD, LIL' JON, AND THE HYPERREAL

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In distinguishing sex from its representation in pornography Jean Baudrillard writes that the latter makes the former "more real than real." Furthermore, "In pornography sex is so close that it merges with its own representation: the end of perspectival space, and therefore, that of the imaginary and of phantasy—end of scene, end of illusion" (Baudrillard. *Seduction*. 28-29). In this statement, Baudrillard also encapsulates the operant mode of the hyperreal: the erasure of the frame that separates representation from reality, which transforms reality into a rendering of empty signs. In this instance, current norms in pornographic film that emphasize images of genitals, penetration, and exaggerated human forms add a dimensionality to the depiction that destroys a viewer's appreciation of the real pragmatics of sex. The extremity of these camera angles fulfills both the voyeur's immediate physical desires and imbues a perverse sense of objectivity and ubiquity so that the simulation of sex on screen becomes more real than the congress between two people.

One also sees in Baudrillard's quaint metaphorization the second component of the hyperreal: the equivalency of signs. Here the visual medium of pornography merges with the trappings of scientific discourse, the auditory field of music, and the apparatus that modulates this music. The effect is a cobbling of signs and simulacra whose systematicity is one of philandering substitution. In such a hyperreal state, the traditional bars of genre and materiality that would distinguish between smut and science, cinema and music, the technological and the literary have been flattened, much like a digital image created from the layering of several images is planed down to a single level of pixels to make it logistically and fiscally suitable for reproduction.

I offer this example, germane to the current industry of graphic, web, and software design, to demonstrate the plausibility of Baudrillard's hyperreality to those who would dismiss it as post-modern apocalyptic ravings or science fiction. For these sectors of new media, the absorption into the hyperreal is an economic necessity. But what of other modes of production, such as the traditional visual and aural arts indicated in Baudrillard's pithy quote? What of cultural production? In this essay I will attempt to test Baudrillard's reckoning of hyperreality against one phenomenon of American popular culture that includes Lil' Jon's and the Eastside Boyz hit "Get Low," the video that features the song, and the extra-textual commentaries that resulted from the dissemination of the word "skeet." My methods will take a more exploratory approach, rather than probative. My interests lie in the coincidences and discords that arise in the collision between the popular object and the system of the hyperreal, and so I will eschew definitive conclusions that would amount to either the confirmation or revocation of Baudrillard's concept of hyperreality and its abysmal proliferation in modern western culture. It is this rationale that motivates my selection of the rap song "Get Low" as my theoretical litmus strip, for, in its agglutination, the advent of the "Get Low" phenomenon, especially the promulgation of the word "skeet" in the public semiurgy corroborates and defies Baudrillardian structuring.

Let us begin with a history lesson. "Get Low" was released in 2003, peaking at the #5 spot on the Billboard R&B and Hip Hop charts, sharing the Top 10 with other rap luminaries such as 50 Cent, Jay Z, and female vocalists such as Monica and Whitney Houston. Lil' Jon and the Eastside Boyz would later claim three Billboard Music Awards: R&B/Hip Hop group of the Year, Independent Artists of the Year, and Independent Album of the Year for *Kings Of Crunk*, featuring "Get Low." Accolades are subjective, of course, but the recognition of "Get Low" and its authors by a dominant authority in the business of music indicates the wide, popular radius of the song and the high degree of cultural mainlining that includes an appeal beyond the Atlanta club-vibe enclave that Lil' Jon and the Eastside Boyz sprouted from and national airplay—despite the repeated use of the word "skeet" in the chorus. In urban parlance, skeet refers either to the act of onanism to conclude the sexual conjugation, the spastic and pneumatic sound of ejaculation, or the sound of the ejaculate's impact on the male participant's partner. The unofficial etymology of the word (as if any etymology may claim official authority) affiliates it with the practice of skeet shooting<sup>1</sup>, which involves the practice of *pulling out [here, a rifle] and shooting*. It also bears mentioning that several artists have used the term in varying degrees. 2 Live Crew uses skeet once as a direct object in "C'mon Baby" (1989); D4L, thrice in one line of "Laffy Taffy" (2005). Of these instances, however, the songs by D4L appear after "Get Low," and in the case of D4L, specifically reference it. It is "C'mon Baby" that provides the significant genealogical marker. In the line "Now stop teasin' and start pleasin' / Just fuck me good until I skeet," skeet functions discreetly as sexual denotation.

It is the concretizing moment of the sexual experience, contrasting and intending to implode the delaying tactics of flirtation and seduction. Fucking becomes the antidote to "teasin'," and skeeting the imprimatur of a worthwhile assignation. Here, all traces of original metaphoric suggestibility vanish. Indeed, in the context of this rap the cognate of skeet shooting or the identification to guns or sport would appear as an innuendo of skeet.

We must regard Lil' Jon and the Eastside Boyz' usage of skeet as such: as the blunt evocation of a complex particularity of sex, one akin to the terms "climax" or "cum." Certainly, the values of culmination, arrival, or conclusion (especially in terms of male physiology) attend, but the onanistic aspects of skeeting trebles the act, adding not only self-stimulation but also the baptism or dousing (the potentiality of D4L's firehose simile), thus transmuting the scope of the act. The male orgasm, generally subsumed by either the physics of propagation, prophylactic use, or the frenzy of the clinch is revealed as spectacle and promptly converted into artifact. Its plasmic reality against the canvas sexual partner reifies exertion, but in a larger sense, exists as a hypostatic confirmation of the sexual event. Little wonder that this very subject has become a permanent fixture in pornographic film and video. What better way to establish verisimilitude from the simulation of sex than providing archival evidence of cloture? We can assume the same motivation for camera's fixation on the actors' genitalia to the exclusion of all other erotic cues. What better method to verify the pornographic image than unambiguous stimulation and penetration?

It is also little wonder that the medium of pornography would fall within the province of Baudrillard's analysis. The reductionist tactics of the genital close-ups, the hypostatic argument of skeet conform to the "hallucination of detail" and voyeuristic "exactitude" that Baudrillard sees typifying the pornographic form. The screen burns with a montage of sexual excess, the camera trained with a clarity that actually distorts and decontextualizes the scene. As Baudrillard writes "[the] sex is so close that it merges with its own representation: the end of perspectival space, and therefore, that of the imaginary and the phantasy" (Baudrillard 29 Seduction). The on-screen simulation of sex becomes more real than the reality of sex and serves to replace it. Pornography and the sexual norms that it substitutes then operate on the convoluted scape of the hyperreal.

One can immediately recognize the connection between pornography in the hyperreal and "Get Low's" orchestration of "skeet." The chorus line, shouted aggressively and with rhythmic regularity, bludgeons the audience, explicitly declaring the song's own characteristic explicitness. However, the song's reverberations of the hyperreal go beyond the pure enunciation or reference. The progression of "Get Low"—its lyrical arrangement, its imagery, and the staging of skeet—all trace the contours of pornographic modus of sensory overload and simulation. For example, the visuals evoked by the full chorus play like the XXX montage we have already discussed:

*To the windows, to the wall (to dat wall)*  
*To the sweat drop down my balls (my balls)*  
*To all these bitches crawl (crawl)*  
*To all skeet skeet, motherfucker. To all skeet skeet, got damn. ("Get Low")*

These lines proceed with a specific regularity, dependent upon two lyrical aspects. First, the lines are brief phrases, circumscribed by the echo effects. The trailing riffs "to dat wall," "my balls," and "crawl" serve to round out what are incomplete statements, thereby reinforcing the vividness of the imagery. Second, each phrase functions as a locative. One can imagine the Lil' Jon, the Eastside Boyz, and the Ying Yang Twins directing the mise-en-scènes of their rap with these blunt lyrical strokes. One can also view them as the camera instructions for the shooting of a "blue" montage, starting from the physical interior ("to the windows, to the walls"), cutting to the genital magnifying glass ("sweat drop down my balls"), cutting to the contrived postures of female objects ("to all those bitches crawl"), cutting back again to the genital-scope for the explosive denouement ("To all skeet, skeet, motherfucker. To all skeet, skeet, got damn!"). Like the gonzo stylings of the porn sequence, the chorus of "Get Low" saturates the listener with physiological and sexual exorbitancy, each line punctuated by an epithet or vulgarity to achieve maximal auditory impact on the audience. With the chorus betraying a desultory rhyme and a paucity of verbal variety, shock and the repetition of shock serves as the prime mover.

The chronology of "Get Low" also contributes to its subsumption/vitalization of the hyperreal. "Get Low" begins with the chorus, and so begins with a model of sex whose salient image is that of male climax and conclusion. The subsequent verse, however, suggests a new beginning, divorced from the sordid epoch of the chorus. The Ying Yang Twins introduce a stripper, described as "so fresh, so clean." At this point, the relationship between the speaker and the stripper remains embryonic. The stage, the club manager, and club security still stand in the way. Stymied, the Twins launch into a declaration of desires ("I like to see the female twerking/ taking the clothes off/ buckey naked") and intentions ("pop yo pussy like this cause Ying Yang Twins in this bitch"). The Twins then express this desire, enjoining the stripper to perform for them. Whether a portrait of female exploitation, human commodification, or crude romance, a linear drama unfolds. The speaker fixates upon a woman and pursues her with singular mind. The chorus follows, however, it now represents the culmination of sexual expenditure. The hyper-realized model inspires action only in order to duplicate itself. The simulacrum replaces the simulacrum—in this case, the drive for skeet describes a fourfold circuit, and in all rounds delineates the start and finish lines of the race with itself, representing at once a generative and affirmative principle of its own systematicity, thus abolishing its origin. In short, the chorus of "Get Low" enacts a lyrical tautology.

An inertia now afflicts lyrical semantics. If "Get Low" proceeds only to repeat the overdetermined sexual model it inaugurates then the intervening verses lessen in importance, homogenized by the push for the hypostatic pretext. Baudrillard terms this "implosion," and involves the "short-circuiting between poles of every differential system of meaning. . . Hence the impossibility of meaning in the literal sense" (Baudrillard 83). Such an analysis may explain the popularity of "Get Low" and other songs defined by the almost ineffable category of "catchiness," whereby a particular beat or line penetrates public consciousness at the expense of the song's other formal characteristics. The audience, perhaps recognizing the recursiveness of a song, dismisses its more variegated but ultimately vacuous elements and retains impressions of its models because of their resemblance to previous models and their exhaustive use in the song.

With differentiation thus canceled, the precession of simulacra sweeps us out of the space occupied by Levi-Straus, de Saussure, Barthes, and Derrida. Equivalency, the (a)semiological corollary of infinite modeling becomes the governing principle of an anarchic system that devours meaning (see Baudrillard 79-86). In "Get Low" the conventions of pornography infiltrates and reconstitutes the artistry of the rap. Pornography thus produces "Get Low," a fact which obliges a specific predicate in order to close the circuit of non-meaning: "Get Low" must now produce pornography. Though X-rated in content, the video version of "Get Low" proceeds towards these ends.

The video begins with the invasion of Club Body Tap by Lil' Jon, the Eastside Boyz, and their clique. Such a setting informs all subsequent activities in the video with the promise of sexual adventure. However in what proves a significant move, Lil' Jon, still at the threshold, orders the dancers to leave, evacuating the club of its objects of appreciation. The rappers and their posse take over not just the space of the club but its representation of carnality, substituting the spectacle of gyrating flesh with their rap. The women, of course, reappear to engage in the standard club antics, but they have been recast in the service of the song. Lines such as "Bend over to the front/ touch your toes/ back dat ass up and down and get low (get low)" are sung in counterpoint with the corresponding physical enactment.

However, the female dancers in the video are marginal figures, their clockwork titillation present as satellites orbiting a far more active agent of the pornographic. As in the lyrical phonoscape, the concept of skeet dominates focalization in the video medium though curiously transformed. Where the lyrical force of skeet arises from the shock and transparency of the obscenity, the video version of "Get Low" presents skeet through metonym. The first utterance of skeet overlays a close-up shot of a water bottle spraying a mist of water that fills the screen. An anticipatory scene features the retrieval of pump-action water guns; their load canister labeled "SKEET" in red precedes the next iteration. As the chorus swells, these water guns are seen in the hands of raucous club-goers, strafing the dancers with jets of water. In the next instance, the liquescent image of the chorus (the sweat dropping from balls and skeet) condensate into one grand scene of two thoroughly drenched women boxing in a kiddie pool filled with water. Throughout the tussle, they splash themselves and are splashed by avid spectators. The final occurrence of skeet (the video features one less stanza and one less choral interlude than the single) conveys a note of fatigue. The video dispenses with metaphorical staging. Instead, it features the Ying Yang Twins rapping and simulating the act of skeeting with hand gestures.

A cursory examination of the symbolic, sometimes parodic, nature of these scenes would argue against the operations of pornography as held by Baudrillard considering that symbolism and parody require obliqueness of expression to achieve their effects. A strict analysis of the visual narrative of the "Get Low" video would certainly accredit such a disjunction. Taken as a whole, however, the accompanying soundtrack of the transparent obscenity of skeet implodes the possibility of a masque before it begins. In other words, the images cannot function as suggestions of skeet since skeet is already explicitly articulated. Rather, these images function as a type of prosthetic enhancement, a means to enlarge the material and specular profundity of the act of skeeting. Through the spray bottle, the phallus can mystify the screen. Through the water gun, the phallus can deliver its charge from across the room. Through the pool, the target of desire (here, the strippers) may bathe and be subsumed by male abundance. In toto, one finds the obsession with hallucinatory excess and details that motivates pornography (and all simulacra precession) preserved.

To retract our critical lens from this sampling of pornography, music, pornography as music, and music as pornography in order to survey the wider social landscape, one can clearly see the ramifications of hyperreality—that is, one sees society instantly immolated. Red. With the loss of semic distinction, coupled with the escalation of sign production without purpose, the notion of society reduces to portraiture, or worse, a portraiture of a portraiture, extant only in one dimensional space, its pixel population standing shoulder to shoulder, neutralized and completely absorbed into the medium. In discussing the circulation of information at the cost of meaning, Baudrillard likens the process to a viral infection (see Baudrillard 79-94). A virus riddles a cell with its own genetic code for the perpetuation of that code and nothing else. After this fashion, the pornographic tendencies of media perpetuates itself through "Get Low" and "Get Low" responds by stamping out more infected copies of this template.

For those of less apocalyptic dispositions, this reduction of human behavior to the level of the virus and the dismissal of difference should raise serious concerns and begs the question: does such a level of semantic promiscuity exist to support a system as profligate as the precession of simulacra? In attempting to answer, I submit a quote from African American comedian Dave Chappelle on the topic of Lil' Jon and skeet:

What's so dope about skeet? White people don't know what it means yet . . . When they figure it out, they're going to be like, "My god, what have we done?" (Chappelle).

Chappelle is voicing his disbelief that the use of the term skeet has slipped past FCC regulations which forbids the use of language that explicitly describes or suggests sexual acts. Given that the edited version of "Get Low" substitutes "motherfucker" with "skeet-skeet" makes Chappelle's imputation of ignorance to the FCC, and, by extension, the representatives of the white middle class that constitute its governing body, difficult to deny.

Even if a gross generalization of the FCC, that such a comment would elicit humor from his audience points to a phenomenon not easily reconciled by the circuitry of the hyperreal: the shibboleth. In Judges chapter 12, the Ephraimites, recently vanquished after a bloody feud with the Gileadites began stealing into Gilead. In order to identify the interlopers, Gileadite patrols would ask strangers to say "shibboleth" which Ephraimite phonology converted to "sibboleth." If the stranger was unable to effect the *sh* sound he was summarily slaughtered. A fable-like quality underlines this account. One would think that living near Gilead would allow the Ephraimites to compensate for the differing morphologies over time especially considering that they have Hebrew as a common language. The story, rather, illustrates the complex rhetorical currents that flow through such a code word. In the Gileadites' use and the Ephraimites' understanding of shibboleth, the slight phonemic variation transmitted ethnic, geographic, historical, and juridical arguments with no small stakes. The story holds that 42,000 Ephraimites fell because of their mispronunciation.

The stakes are considerably less for the term skeet, but the rhetorical statement that it makes in its invocation is just as numerous. Chappelle's usage overtly strives for humor, but such humor arises because of the divisions that knowledge of the word reinforces. Those "in" on the joke belong to the "in group," which, for the efficacy of the joke, we can equate to being African American. Those "outside" the joke are defined by their ignorance of the meaning of skeet; one can assume they are white. Beyond the signaling of racial and cultural difference, the rhetorical effects of skeet unspool in a welter of directions. Politically, the joke could function as

a capsulated polemic, indicting the white ruling class for their disregard of African Americans. It could also be exhorting African American solidarity by dramatically opposing black and white cultures (*We don't even speak the same language . . .*). Or, skeet could represent a means to mollifying racial tensions, granting whites a key to African American vernacular and pop trends. Or, the use of skeet could function pathetically through the political dimension, allowing the oppressed to laugh at the oppressor's ignorance just as slave lore caricatured white plantation owners. The possibilities can go on. If the phenomenon of skeet (i.e. the Chapelle show, FCC ignorance) demonstrates anything, it is that while the production of "Get Low" and the sign of skeet may derive from a sequence of copying, how these signs impact certain demographics will mediate the closure of the circuit. For much of white America<sup>2</sup>, the sign of skeet represents no sign at all, merely a vocalization. While the other contextual cues would allow them a glimpse of the song's operant hyper-pornography, we can safely conclude that it will not be the same hyper-porn that African Americans with a knowledge of skeet will observe.

Thus the limpid pools of hyperreal equivalency muddy with the restitution of distinction and difference. A seam opens in the system and we begin to see the phenomenon of skeet move away from the distopia of Baudrillard and towards the rhetorical universe of Kenneth Burke. In *A Rhetoric of Motives*, Burke names identification as the central concept of rhetoric, where identification presupposes division, hence the opportunity for rhetoric to do work. As Burke writes: "If we were not apart from one another, there would be no need for the rhetorician to proclaim their unity" (Burke 1326). Rhetoric then governs all human interaction, serving as an instrument to compensate and also constitute difference.

Of course, in resorting to Burke to help explain the rhetorical repercussions of the skeet phenomenon, we create a dilemma for ourselves. How now do we reconcile these two strains of radically divergent thought? Does our exposure of a flaw in the fabrication of simulacra and the wrinkles in equivalency implode Baudrillard's theory? What of the hyperreal tendencies that "Get Low" does display?

Curiously, a remedy for this epistemological schizophrenia exists for us in the antinomy between Baudrillard's and Burke's treatment of rhetoric. For Baudrillard, rhetoric in the hyperreal serves purely dissuasive ends (see *Simulation* 88-89). Rhetoric, like all else in the hyperreal exists only as the propagation of equivalency, to neutralize meaning and response; in effect, behaving as an anti-rhetoric, sharply contrasting Burke's understanding. Yet while the motivations and realization of Baudrillard's neutral rhetoric and Burke's rhetoric of identification ostensibly diverge, one may, in their involution of the other, trace a shared infrastructure. Both philosophies depend on the negotiation of difference. For Burke, rhetoric issues dissimilarity while for Baudrillard the grotesque sameness of all negates rhetoric. The disjunction between the two is a matter of degree, not ontology.

With this tenuous umbilicus connecting the hyperreal and Burkean rhetoric, I propose three strategies by which we can manage this yoking:

First, we may consider this arrangement parasitic, whereby the hyperreality of Baudrillard siphons the nutriment from the Burke, enlisting it into the never-ending precession of simulacra. Or conversely, we may see the overlapping valences that mark the grammar and motives of Burke's rhetorical theory subsume the hyperreal, imprisoning Baudrillard within the angles of the pentad, perhaps reducing the purpose of his project to the embittered ravings of a disillusioned Marxist.

Second, we may view this pairing as a historical novelty, an imagined reincarnation of the debate between Plato and Aristotle because certainly Baudrillard's contempt for simulation resembles Plato's contempt for sophistry, and Burke's exacting attention to the vagaries of rhetoric resemble Aristotle. But then who shall we award victory to? Moreover, to whose conception of reality does the principle of reincarnation better befit? The proponent of duplication or the proponent of rhetorical regularity through the ages?

Lastly, we can, on the basis of a shared rhetorical fundament, appropriate what is of value in both Baudrillard and Burke in a practical bricolage. While we must suspend the totalizing *dormus* of the hyperreal system, there is no logical reason why certain concepts such as the creation of simulacra and the pornographic tendencies of new media must also fall into abeyance. As we have shown in our examination of skeet ample room exists for both modes, and a credible rendering of an object probably pushes for imbrication. Indeed, the McLuhan maxim "the medium is the message" pushed to its extreme by Baudrillard can provide critical insight

into recomputing the ratios of the Burkean pentad where the categories of agent, agency, and scene succumb to the new volatility of the digital age of production and consumption where certain goods such as web pages, browser interfaces, advertising pop-ups, even music and music videos have dispensed either with materiality or a corresponding physical referent, and rather than nullifying rhetoric, the simulacrum becomes a creature of it.

#### NOTES

1. The origin of the name for skeet shooting dates to 1926 when a contest was held to name the newly recognized shooting sport invented by Charles E. Davies. The winning entry "skeet," tendered Gertrude Herlbutt, derives from the Scandinavian word for shoot ([www.nssa-ssca.com](http://www.nssa-ssca.com)).
2. For the statements that follow I will continue to generalize according to the foundations of Chappelle's joke, aware of the manifold variations present within such categories.

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## “THE COMPANY” AND THE NATION: RHETORICAL PERFORMATIVITY IN *THE RISING*

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Ketan Mehta's 2005 Bollywood blockbuster *The Rising: Ballad of Mangal Pandey* reminds the informed audience of the 2001 *Lagaan: Once Upon a Time in India*. Besides featuring Aamir Khan in the leading role, both films are set in colonial India and take Indo-British conflict as the major burden of their plots. If *Lagaan* plotted the conflict around agricultural tax that the British levied, and resolved it through the popular sports in India, cricket; *The Rising* is only bolder to take on what has gone down in history as the 1857 Indian Mutiny. Additionally, both films aim to reach international as well as domestic audiences – a fact indicated by the use of English in the titles and confirmed by their simultaneous international releases. Both films were not only immense financial successes, but also very enthusiastically reviewed in the media, both domestically and abroad. *Lagaan* went on to be nominated by the American Academy Awards in the Best Foreign Film category, and produced ripple-effects that brought other films aiming to repeat its success.

*Lagaan* and *The Rising* are not lone examples of the global popularity of Bollywood cinema. They are both part of, as they are equally contributive to, the twin phenomena of the globalization of Bollywood cinema and “Bollywoodization of Indian cinema.”<sup>1</sup> Exemplary of a process that has been named “glocalization,” the Bollywood culture industry imports the latest film technology from the West and reworks the traditional themes of Indian cinema giving them fresh ideological coding that is reflective of the politico-economic development in India.<sup>2</sup> The rapidly growing body of scholarship on Bollywood cinema stresses the role of the cinema in postcolonial India in constructing the narratives of the nation that interpellate the audience as members of the “imagined community” of the nation.<sup>3</sup> Contrary to the routine announcements of the death of the nation-state in the post-Fordist global moment, scholars argue that the nation has reached beyond its topographical boundaries to claim its diasporic “children” such that the nation itself has acquired global reach.<sup>4</sup>

In what follows, I read *The Rising* as a narrative of the nation in the medium of cinematic cultural commodity manufactured for both domestic and global consumption. I use the tools of classical narratology by “inflect[ing]” it with “postcolonial lenses”<sup>5</sup> so as to foreground in my reading the rhetorical ruses by which the film appropriates the subaltern resistance of 1857 to sublimate it in the grand nationalist paradigm. I point out the questions of agency and of representation such desire for nationalist closure raises and go on to argue that *The Company* that the film announces vanquished returns in its present day avatar of global capital to dictate the terms of its representation.

*The Rising* is set, as its historical subject-matter demands, in mid-nineteenth century India, and pits Mangal Pandey and the sepoys against The East India Company. The ostensible conflict starts when the Hindu and Muslim sepoys refuse to use the allegedly cow- and pig-fat greased cartridges in the new rifles introduced by the Company. Even as the film keeps coming to this “originary” moment of conflict, it periodically detours into the larger social background so as to thicken the plot. So, while the initial suspicion about the animal-fat-greased cartridges becomes a certainty leading to the mutiny of the sepoys, we, the film's audience, are alongside led to know the practice of sati, of untouchability, of prostitution etc. Characters like Mangal Pandey, the hero of the rebellion, and Captain Gordon, a white Company soldier sympathetic to the Indians, cruise along the multiple rails of the main and subplots. Characters like Jwala, a young woman saved from going sati by Captain Gordon; Heera, another young woman who changes hands as a slave until she ends as a dance girl cum prostitute; Kamala, a woman who suckles for money a white child while her own child hungers away; Nainsukh, the “untouchable” street sweeper – all traffic mostly along subplots and have only highly circumscribed and appropriated roles insofar as they appear in the main plot. The end of the film's main plot announces the Company vanquished and the nation victor, by the ruse of foreshadowing that renders the narrated future into the narrative present; the subplots, on the other hand, are “integrated” into the former to transform it into the level of nationalist narrative.

On the plane of narrative, the rhetorical maneuvers of *The Rising* are most revealing of its ideological underpinnings. The film begins and, after the interpolation of analepsis (flashback) that runs into more than two-thirds of the “narrative time,” ends with the death by hanging of Mangal Pandey, the leader of the Mutiny and the martyr of anti-colonial/nationalist struggle for independence. This rhetorical ruse allows the film to



foreground the moment of martyrdom and sublate the subaltern uprising into the grand narrative of the nation. And as if the audio-visual "narrated" content were not adequately clear, the voice-over male narrator drones in his authoritative historiographic voice, explaining to us the significance of the moment: "And so it began: the bloodiest rebellion in human history, the British called a Sepoy Mutiny but for Hindustan it was the first step to freedom." Earlier in the film the same narrator introduces the East India Company, the antagonist of the nation, as "the most successful business enterprise in history [with] its own laws, its own administration and army." Such interpretive commentary of the extra-diegetic narrator *contains* the potential polyvalence of the historic moment by "emptying out" its subaltern substance and coding or "fixing" it as the *arche* point of the nationalist struggle, which would reach its *telos* in the 1947 independence.

The voice-over narrator is not the only device the film uses to code the narrative in nationalist paradigm; there are other both extra-diegetic and intra-diegetic narrators who comment on the East India Company and the Indian nation. Extra-diegetic choric commentators sing sonorously from an elephant's back calling the nation to rise or explaining the ubiquity of exchange in the colonial "bazaar" as the shifting visual shots corroborate their commentary. Then there are the village folks who appear in the film to comment on the introduction of the telegraph; in a scene of Bhabhian mimicry, they "translate" *telegraph* into *tere khilaph* (against you) and further into *tere, mere, sabke khilaph* (against you, me, all of us). This seemingly mundane commentary on lines read off a newspaper gathers significance at the narrative level as we know later that it is the control over this communicative device that gives the Company strategic advantage over the "mutinies."

The use of intra-diegetic narrators in the film is no less important. As early as the first half-hour into the nearly three-hour long film, the speech of Lord Canning, the governor general of East India Company, introduces the Company from the perspective of the colonizers. Proud of the completion of 100 years of the Company's presence in the Indian subcontinent and of the expansion in territorial control during that period, Canning links the success to the British crown and "benevolently" acknowledges the "White Man's Burden" of bringing "civilization" and "justice." The film soon explodes this civilizing rhetoric and exposes the business motive operating the Company machine. To bemused Miss Kent with handful of poppies grown on the Company land, Captain Gordon explains that the Company trades opium with Chinese tea, and because the Chinese are now unwilling to continue such unfair exchange, the Company is waging war on China with Indian Sepoys to die for them. Gordon performs the same task again, this time to Mangal Pandey, and says that the Company is like Ravana, but with thousand heads, and its sole purpose is profit for which it sells everything. The film hearkens the audience to the fact of the entrenchment of the Company's power by the wounding comments to Mangal Pandey by the "untouchable" sweeper, Naysukh, and the nautch girl, Heera; both remind Mangal of his servitude to the company – the impurity/untouchability of his soul, by Naysukh, and its sale to the white men, by Heera.

Such conspicuously heavy use of narrative commentary, both intra-diegetic and extra-diegetic, aims to establish the theme of the nation vs. the Company as the interpretive horizon of the film's narrative. However, the very fact that the necessity of the narrative commentary of this volume was felt by the production crew of the film is suggestive of the repressions and distortions the film has performed precisely by the ruse of narrative commentary. As Frederic Jameson points out, a work of mass culture is not able to sell its utopian solution without first giving some expression to the objective contradictions of the society it represents before the latter get displaced and distorted.<sup>6</sup>

At the actantial level, or the level of assignment of roles to characters in the plot(s), it is immensely productive to take the characters in the film as representations of the "fragments" of the nation and analyze the agency differentially assigned to them. In the main plot, the leading roles are taken by the Company as a body and Mangal Pandey, and the subaltern soldiers led mostly by Mangal. In his role as stand-in for the nation, Mangal is slowly transmogrified from his specificity as a subaltern soldier to an embodiment of the soul of the nation, a sign for it by the logic of metonymy. Insofar as women appear in the main plot, they do so only in subsidiary roles. Kamala's role as an unwitting informant for the Company machine is only subservient, a device in the plot, with no consequences *for herself*. Heera is assigned two paradoxical roles, both of which are stereotypic and tradition-bound, and in no way suggest substantive agency. On the one hand, she figures as a woman-as-love, a liability for her lover, Mangal, whom she tries to derail from the main plot encouraging him to run away. On the other hand, when Mangal refuses to buckle and announces the primacy of his obligation to serve his country over his role as lover, Heera makes another appearance, toward the end, this time to put red

*tilak* on Mangal's forehead and perform *arati*, and thus sanctify the imminent moment of martyrdom. Here she features in another stereotypic role of woman as lover/wife/mother/sister who sacrifices for the nation the man in the family. Nainsukh, the "*achhut*" sweeper, is simultaneously assigned agency-in-excess and agency-devoid-of-substance, which is indicative of the reification and instrumentalization of his mark as an outcast. He is the one who brings the news of the animal-fat-greased cartridges, who announces the arrival of the Rangoon regiment in the decisive moment of the rebellion, and who takes liberties with the upper-caste Mangal to remind him of the *achhutness* 'impurity' of his cow-pig-fat-greased-and-enslaved-to-white soul. Nainsukh is also the one who is first to hear the call of Mangal's last words – "*Hamla Bol*" (Attack!) – and jumps into the frame to be followed by the masses. The film denotatively makes clear to us Nainsukh's status as "untouchable" but connotatively beguiles us into believing that being an *achhut* in nineteenth century India was not after all that bad as anthropological/sociological accounts tell us. The portrayal of the subaltern untouchable, Nainsukh, turned into the agent of such proportions is thus only utopian and, though his objective status as *achhut* in the Indian society is constantly alluded to in the film, the import of the allusion is distorted and covered under the romanticized patina.

There is a *class* of characters, moreover, who simultaneously occupy opposite actantial roles; their ability to make crossovers is revealing of the question of representation and of transfer of power the film remains dumb about. They are people like Raja Nana Saheb and Queen Laxmibai and businessmen like Sorabji. These constitute the comprador class, the "buffer zone" between the white rulers and the brown populace, the plane of articulation between two different modes of production. When the balance of power shifts, they are able to skip to the other side without even a scratch in their well-fed bodies; their position in both systems remains identical – they "represent" and appropriate the "blood, toil, sweet, and tears" of the masses who can not represent themselves. There is a telling moment in the film where the irony of representation and the question of transference of will between the representor and the represented is brought out as a bone of contention, but, quite predictably for a work of mass culture, its potential to disrupt the system of values the film represents is contained by dismissing it as impractical and irrelevant. When messengers from Nana Saheb come to the "mutinies," who have crossed the line irreversibly by robbing the army weapons, and announce the unity among the rajahs and their intention to support the rebellion, Mangal Pandey laughs away the proposal and points out the hurting truth that the rajahs were no better because they had "gambled away" their kingdoms in pleasure and had genuflected to the British without protest. The question that follows Mangal's protest is perhaps the most serious question of history and most recurrent: "But who will rule after?" The truth that Mangal blurts is dismissed as youthful blasts of hot air, which is indexed in the film by contrasting his youthful visage against the bearded and mature-looking soldier who takes over the floor and announces the decision to join the kings. The irruption of the ideological question is thus swiftly displaced by the utopian gloss of the unity of resistance under the "symbol" of the Bahadur Shah of Delhi.

The alignment of characters and the assignment of roles in the subplots are suggestive of the fact that the "fragments" of the nation represented by Jwala and Heera and Kamala and Nainsukh are part of the whole of the nation but only in subservient roles. Both in the Gordon-Jwala subplot and in the one that involves Mangal and Heera, women are represented as objects to change hands between the powerful members of the society, albeit these be "good" and "bad" ones. Kamala exercises agency of sorts when she "saves" the white child, but when her sub-plot is framed within the main-plot, she slides into the subservient role of information carrier. This indicates that the agency she has exercised has not made any difference in her objective status in her family and society; it has made difference only for the white child and the white power. Nainsukh's role in the sub-plot is only of a messenger between Mangal and Heera is not indicative of any agency for himself. Men of caste and whiteness, thus, have agency to act both in the public and the domestic spheres; women, unless they be of ruling class, either suffer only exchange of hands, and/or if they act it is not for themselves. A pariah like Nainsukh, on the other hand, has only the choice of slaving away happily. The utopian nationalist narrative may romanticize their roles but denies them any substantive historical agency.

The three sub-plots involving women perform a hilarious merry-go-round of savers and the saved (or unsaved), and are reminiscent of Gayatri Spivak's formula for the colonial discourse on sati: "White men saving brown women from brown men."<sup>7</sup> To appropriate the formula for our context, one can represent the three sub-plots consecutively in this manner: the white man saves the brown woman from brown men; the brown man saves the brown woman from white men (the brown woman, Lol Bibi, works for the white); the brown woman saves the white man (the child is called "*bache*" by Kamala which means male child) from brown men. The

three cases – of a sati, a prostitute/slave, a white child under extraordinary circumstances – are highly differentiated and can indeed not be conflated. But it is precisely their non-isomorphism that indicates to us the complexity of the saver/saved dynamic and the differential of power under colonial rule. The film flattens these nuances of power into the dichotomy of the nation vs. the Company and thus represses the differences that complicate the imposed interpretive paradigm.

At the level of functional analysis, I will discuss here only two key "sequences": (a) the shifting shots that accompany the title song "Mangala, Mangala . . ." and augment the verbal commentary, and (b) the scenes that index Mangal Pandey's character, his transformation from a subaltern soldier to the hero in the nation's history.

The title song of the film "Mangala, Mangala . . ." plays upon the homonymy between the name of the hero Mangal and the sacred sense of blessedness, and immediately codes Mangal's death into religious sacrifice. The verbal exhortation "*Jago re jago!*" (Awake! Awake!) is accompanied by brief shots of "earth, sky, river and oceans" and "towns, homes, villages" and "valleys, trees and shadows" that are announced awake. The intensity of the moment is hinted by the repeated shots of an elephant giving, as it were, a battle cry. We are shown shots of the Ganges and a holy site of prayer and rituals to buttress religious coding as the shots of towns and villages and valleys and trees with the shots of people inhabiting them depict the awakening nation. There is also a shot of scales with weights, which accompanied by verbal commentary that "landlords, traders, priest and soldier as per your worth, your value is weighed" hints the ubiquity of exchange in the colonial bazaar. In other words, right at the beginning, the antagonists of the conflict are introduced to the audience through the song and accompanying visual shots.

The scene of the battle in the Afgan hills, where Mangal saves Gordon amidst the bullets shot from the other side, portrays him as brave, loyal and dutiful. The scene of the Company party where Mangal intervenes in the beating of the brown servant by Captain Hewson marks him as one who cannot bear to see cruelty and injustice. That Mangal speaks for the regiment about the animal-fat scandal shows him as the leader. That he boos at the "*achhut*" Nainsukh shows him as an upper-caste and as one proud as well as belligerent about it. His transformation into the nationalist paradigm starts when he has to shoot fellow Indians, innocent poor farmers, to follow his duty as a Company soldier. Things develop further and further from that point until, in the hospital bed, before his trial, he says to Gordon that his fight has nothing to do with the animal-fat-greased cartridges, but with something bigger, when he realizes his mistake in calling Nainsukh "*achhut*" and realizes that all Indians are outcastes in their own country. Mangal is no longer Mangal as he was before, a subaltern soldier, but is now indexed as metonymy for the nation.

The plot also contributes to the construction of the nationalist interpretive horizon, as the spatial concatenation of the metonymies in the title song and the vertical character-consolidation of Mangal Pandey do. The plot periodically detours from the main-plot (which is set off by the news of animal-fat-greased cartridges) to fill in details so as to lay proper background to the conflict. However, in filling in those details the film also displaces the initial rationale of the main-plot (a local conflict based on the foul cartridges) and supplements it with the ones that show "minor" peripheral details. The result is the expansion of space and thickening of themes. The shifting locations of Calcutta, and Barrakpore and Behrampore and nearby villages, and later the whole of India as the networking among the rajahs and ranis begins, become the cartography of *kuruchhetra* (the mythical land where the battle of Mahabharata was fought) where the *mahasangram* (big battle) between good and evil is waged. The purpose of the detour into the subplots is thus to supplement the main-plot, whereby the identity of both of them is emptied for the aggregate to function as signifier for the nation.

In its nationalist closure, the film thus announces the Company vanquished and the nation victorious. In coding the 1857 mutiny as the originating moment of the anti-colonial struggle, the film sublates the local details and the subaltern substance into the grand narrative of the nation. However, if one pays close attention to the definition of the Company the film makes from different narrators, the Company that is blandly announced dead returns to haunt the living so that the nation itself and the narrative-as-commodity-in-cinematic form seem hostage to the transmogrification of the Company into the present global capital. Wouldn't the voice-over narrator's definition of the Company as the method-par-excellence of doing business, with its own army and its own government, apply equally well with the global capital today, regulated with war and global institutions? And isn't Gordon's formulation of the Company as a demon with thousand heads with mammoth capacity to

perpetually reproduce itself and with only one motive, to make profit, fit squarely with a capitalism that has survived its crises with unique resilience? And doesn't the choric commentators' depiction of the colonial bazaar as a site where nothing escapes the logic of exchange work for the global "free" market as well? Further, doesn't the film with its depiction of India as a cultural commodity to be consumed in the global market speak otherwise than what it asserts about the Company? If it plays the merry-go-round of saving women from brown men and white men, doesn't the film sell their bodies-as-flesh in the musicals for the gaze of both the brown and the white? Contrary to what is overtly announced by the film, the Company-transmogrified-into-global-capital dictates the terms of the representation of the film, which commodifies the nation for transnational consumption.

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## MONTAIGNE, FIELDING AND PEDAGOGY

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The varied opinions and observations expressed by Michel de Montaigne in his *Essais* have enjoyed a wide influence upon European philosophy ever since their publication in 1580. Although most of Montaigne's essays deal with death and finality, one essay, "De l'institution des enfants," explores Montaigne's concern for his country's future, as he writes his opinions on the way noble males ought to be taught in order to be the next generation of leaders and administrators. A century and a half later in England, another writer-philosopher, Henry Fielding, also concerned with future generations of administrators, published an instructional novel entitled *Tom Jones* in 1749, which seemed to borrow greatly from Montaigne. I will argue that Fielding was influenced by the writings of Montaigne on the subject of pedagogy by comparing Fielding's *Tom Jones* with Montaigne's "De l'institution des enfants." For this discussion, the 1685 translation by Charles Cotton will be used since, according to Battestin, it was the version read by Fielding.

Although a work of fiction, Fielding's novel contains pertinent observations and advice regarding the education of children that parallels Montaigne's so closely that it seems odd that no one yet has commented on the similarity. It is clear that Fielding read Montaigne, since he cites Montaigne in his letters and in his essay "Enquiry into the Causes of the Late Increase of Robbers," published in 1751. Martin C. Battestin also mentions that Fielding credited Montaigne with the inspiration to form the first English clearing house. If Montaigne influenced Fielding in other areas, it would make sense that Montaigne influenced Fielding's pedagogical projects, a subject that Fielding was keen on.

While it is evident that Fielding had read Montaigne, there has not been much literature about Montaigne's direct influence on Fielding besides what has been written by Battestin. There has, however, been much written on Montaigne's influence on John Locke and Locke's influence on Fielding (Battestin, Browning, Jay, Jeanneret, Wormser). It is quite possible that Fielding was influenced directly from Montaigne or through other authors that were influenced by Montaigne. It is beyond the scope of this paper, however, to postulate the manner by which Montaigne's ideas present themselves in Fielding. This paper simply aims to prove that Fielding was indeed influenced by Montaigne in pedagogical philosophy.

Both authors make plain the importance attached to educating youths for the purpose of public administration. Montaigne openly declares, "That the greatest and most important difficulty of human science is the education of children" (par. 8), and goes on to state the goal of that education.

If his governor be of my humour, he will form his will to be a very good and loyal subject to his prince, very affectionate to his person, and very stout in his quarrel, but withal he will cool in him the desire of having any other tie to his service than public duty. (par. 25)

Battestin synthesizes Fielding's pedagogical philosophy by writing, "There was no more important subject for (Henry Fielding) than education: the education of youths of both sexes, the education of those in authority to apprehend the needs of society" (Battestin 230). If Fielding believed so strongly in educating those who would one day assume an administrative post, he likely would have admired others who felt the same way, as Montaigne did, and incorporated their ideals into his own writing.

It is important to note that, although fiction, Fielding's *Tom Jones* was supposed to be a learning tool. The story may be fanciful, but characters mirror real-life people. Fielding states in his introduction that "The provision, then, which we have here made is no other than Human Nature" (Fielding 1). Hassal explains this view in *Henry Fielding's Tom Jones* by saying:

In the description of Tom's early life we see the tangle of vice and virtue that we encounter in the world. Tom has to learn to distinguish between the two in others and in himself. The education of the reader, who observes the learning process and is also addressed directly in the author's commentary, is parallel to, interwoven with, yet separate from that of Tom. (Hassal 1)

By establishing that *Tom Jones* is supposed to be used as a learning tool, and not simply read for entertainment, Fielding gives his story the credentials it needs in order to be seriously compared to Montaigne's essays, which Montaigne himself wanted to be a learning tool.

Montaigne gives three main objectives to his proposed program that Fielding also adopts: humility, continuous exercise of judgment at home and abroad, and the internalization of classical philosophy and morals. In order to emphasize the importance attached to these objectives, both authors supply warnings as to what will happen if these goals are not met. Montaigne paints several portraits of what we would now call "dandies" who recite philosophic doctrine. He calls their affectation "ungraceful," their self-promotion "mean" and their knowledge "poor and paltry" (par. 17). Fielding creates the characters Mr. Blifil, Squire Allworthy's legitimate nephew, and the tutors Mr. Square and the Reverend Thwackum to stand in contrast to what Fielding describes as the "good natured" hero, Tom. These characters show how overt, but not necessarily sincere, demonstrations of education can be manipulated into positions of power. Fielding's contempt for these kinds of people is demonstrated by the punishment that each of these characters is met with.

Both authors call for modesty and humility in their students' actions. Montaigne especially takes care to articulate the threat of offending others by appearing to be their betters:

Silence, therefore, and modesty are very advantageous qualities in conversation. One should, therefore, train up this boy to be sparing and an husband of his knowledge when he has acquired it; and to forbear taking exceptions at or reproving every idle saying or ridiculous story that is said or told in his presence; for it is a very unbecoming rudeness to carp at everything that is not agreeable to our own palate. (par. 21)

Montaigne concedes that it is difficult for a noble to resist temptation in his own home. "The respect the whole family pay him, as their master's son, and the knowledge he has of the estate and greatness he is heir to, are, in my opinion, no small inconveniences in these tender years". (par. 21)

Being the object of admiration on all sides risks raising the boy too high, so Montaigne adds that it is the teacher's responsibility to be his "sovereign," (par. 21) to guide him sternly, and to teach him manners and humility.

Fielding's novel avoids this danger entirely by making the hero illegitimate and an orphan, which immunizes him of the flattery and falsehood that meets someone who will one day be rich. Tom is able to see people as they really are and they, in turn, are not blind to his faults. He is punished when he misbehaves, which not only teaches him that he is not above his actions, but it also teaches the reader that they are not above theirs. By escaping the deception of self-worth that Mr. Blifil falls into, Tom is much closer to achieving his destiny as a respectable gentleman.

The idea of judgment interested both Montaigne and Fielding tremendously since sound judgment is an important tool in governing people. This interest is evidenced by how each author turns to it again and again in their writing. Each time Montaigne discusses personal judgment, he adds another advantage and another means to go about getting it. At home, Montaigne advises the student to "Examine every man's talent; a peasant, a bricklayer, a passenger: one may learn something from every one of these in their several capacities" (Montaigne, par. 27).

Abroad, the student should be able "to give an account of the humours, manners, customs, and laws of those nations where he has been, and that we may whet and sharpen our wits by rubbing them against those of others" (Montaigne par. 18). By being exposed to all classes and all races, the student will discover what is really morally important and we, the reader, will learn to see through other's artifice by seeing people as they really are.

Fielding achieves the same goal of self-exploration by having Tom commanded to leave Squire Allworthy's home. By realizing that life is not always fair, Tom (and the reader) let go of idyllic ignorance. Until this point Tom let Mr. Blifil double-cross him, all the while believing Mr. Blifil the best of men. But if he is to one day be a judge and an administrator, he needs to have his eyes opened to people's true nature, so

Fielding sent Tom to see more of the world in order to gradually open his eyes. He goes so far as to articulate this goal:

We shall represent human nature first to the keen appetite of our reader, in that more plain and simple manner in which it is found in the country, and shall hereafter hash and ragoo it with all the high French and Italian seasoning of affectation and vice which the courts and cities afford. (Fielding 3)

Fielding sets up Tom's worldly education in order of difficulty, as any teacher would set up a curriculum. And as Tom learns to see through the characters represented, the reader does as well.

However, neither Montaigne nor Fielding send their students out into the world unprepared, as each stress the importance of a strong moral and philosophical foundation before setting out to "rub wits" with others. Montaigne states that knowledge of Classical philosophy is knowledge of everything. "For philosophy, who, as the formatrix of judgment and manners, shall be his principal lesson, has that privilege to have a hand in everything." (Montaigne par. 46) The student should "espouse it" rather than reject it.

Away with the thorny subtleties of dialectics; they are abuses, things by which our lives can never be amended: take the plain philosophical discourses, learn how to rightly choose, and then rightly apply them. (Montaigne par. 42)

So Montaigne wants the student to be able to live well by embodying philosophical ideals well.

Fielding shares these views of Montaigne. Not only does Fielding let Tom receive a classical education, he gives Tom the moral role-model of Squire Allworthy. We see early on Tom's good-natured character, and how his goodness and adherence to do good carry him through his travels as Montaigne hoped that his students' incorporated philosophy would carry them through their travels. When faced with trial, Tom acts in a perfectly gentlemanly manner. He refuses to fight unless it is to defend the honour of an innocent woman, which earns him a noble status in the army and saves him from poverty. He acts rightly by Lady Bellaston, which earns him a patroness and allows him to remain in London. By rewarding Tom for his good behavior, the reader is taught that the incorporation of morals into one's life will be rewarded.

If Montaigne had indeed influenced Fielding's views on pedagogy, then the education of Tom in the novel should parallel Montaigne's plan of educating youths—and it does. Montaigne's curriculum, based on humility, judgment, and incorporation of philosophical ideals is applied in *Tom Jones* where the reader watches Tom succeed by the application of these concepts. In essence, Tom becomes Montaigne's model student as he accomplishes all that Montaigne—and later Fielding—could ask for.

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# IDEALIZACIÓN FEMINISTA EN CUATRO ROLES DE ANA TORRENT

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## ABSTRACT

Surrounding circumstances, life experiences, and history can shape an actress's execution of her role. In the case of Ana Torrent, she plays the roles of strong women in four Spanish movies. In *El espíritu de la colmena* (The Beehive's Spirit), Torrent is a six year old girl who deals with the patriarchal oppression which metaphorically represents a repressive government. In *Cría cuervos* (Raise ravens), Torrent is under the impression that she has killed her father, a character which represents Franco's dictatorship. By killing him, she inverts the Oedipal complex. In *Tesis* (Thesis), Ana plays an intellectual specialized in cinematography who survives being a victim. Finally, in *Yoyes*, Torrent plays a character inspired by the first women member of ETA, a separatist organization of the Basque country. Even though three of the four movies are directed by men, they still criticize patriarchal society through the characters that Torrent represents. By exploring how the patriarchal societies portrayed in these Spanish movies conform to Lacan and Freud's patriarchal theories and by applying various feminist theories, I intend to prove that Torrent makes the audience recognize patriarchal oppression and, therefore, represents a feminist standpoint in Spanish cinema.

Es difícil poder aceptar que una niña de seis años demuestre rasgos del feminismo pero las circunstancias, experiencias y la historia influyen la creación del personaje. En cuatro películas Ana Torrent, la actriz principal, representa mujeres fuertes y activas. Los personajes de Ana reflejan la historia de España desde los años de clausura bajo la dictadura de Franco hasta la muerte del dictador. La idealización se define como, "la representación de una sociedad de sí y para sí, y las formas de las cuales la gente tanto vive como produce" (Kuhn, 259). Tres de los directores son hombres, no obstante la idealización feminista existe porque ellos han experimentado la opresión del patriarcado. La ideología patriarcal es, "una operación de ideología que representa y construye las relaciones de dominación de mujeres por hombres" (Kuhn, 260).

Este ensayo analizará como los roles de Ana Torrent se oponen al patriarcado. Para este análisis se utilizarán varias teorías con una perspectiva feminista porque no existe una teoría con una fórmula exacta. La teoría feminista circula como una reacción a teorías patriarcales, por ejemplo de Lacan y Freud. Ana Kuhn nos dice, "Most kinds of feminist film theory actually share a broadly based concern to look at the cultural products and institutions of a patriarchal society from feminist standpoint" (Kuhn, 70). Las películas no son feministas completamente pero la protagonista, Ana Torrent, se opone al patriarcado con su comportamiento y sus reacciones. Como la mujer siempre ha sido objeto de intercambio o simplemente objeto, la visión y lo visto formarán parte del caso de los ojos de Ana, donde la visión de la situación de la mujer y lo visto es probablemente por una audiencia masculina.

A través de los ojos de Ana vemos a España y a través de su narrativa percibimos la historia y el cuento. Amy Kaminsky nos dice que la gente no solo tiene que reconocer los elementos del patriarcado; pero buscar una solución, o sea reaccionar.

Una de las técnicas de la teoría feminista es hacer lo invisible visible. Por ejemplo, en las películas se construye a las mujeres tomando en cuenta la trama filmada y el contexto sociohistórico: "In dominant cinema the voice of a woman, the woman's discourse, is systematically absent or repressed, and that the controlling discourse is almost invariably male" (Kuhn, 85-86). Laura Mulvey también dice que el voyeurismo, el fetichismo, y el narcisismo se relacionan con la existencia del falo y el ver se convierte en tener el falo. (Kuhn, 75).

Para Ana, la niña del Espíritu, mezclar la realidad con la fantasía es un escape y así demuestra como era el sistema patriarcal y como se opone ella a este sistema. La niña de Cría reacciona a la opresión del padre y lo culpa por la muerte de la madre. Ana reconoce la debilidad de la madre y actúa como debería de comportarse al modificar el comportamiento de la madre. Finalmente, vemos a la mujer trabajando en una profesión exclusivamente masculina, lo que nos enseña como la mujer que quiere ser exitosa debe luchar contra muchos obstáculos y ser perseverante y ambiciosa para no dejarse intimidar. Todas tienen un denominador en común, la oposición al patriarcado por parte de Ana. Kathleen M. Vernon en su reseña de *Feminist Discourse and Spanish Cinema* por Susan Martin-Márquez concluye que, "Visto del extranjero este fenómeno podría parecer proporcionar la confirmación de la vitalidad muy anunciada cultural de pluralista, España del pos-Franco, que



definitivamente ha girado su espalda sobre una orden monolítica social, política y económica que vio a mujeres limitadas a papeles reprimidos y represivos tradicionales” (traducido mío) (par.1).

En *El espíritu de la colmena*, Ana experimenta la violencia y muerte con su amigo refugiado y con el Frankenstein y la niña en el cine, y como la mujer maneja esos temas. Ana se obsesiona con el espíritu y visita el lugar desolado constantemente donde ahí ella adopta a un refugiado. En su primer encuentro, ella le ofrece una manzana como Eva le ofrece a Adán en la Biblia (Génesis). Luego regresa con el abrigo del padre y más comida como si reemplazara a su propio padre. El refugiado toca la música del reloj que encuentra en el saco y ella piensa en el padre pero la hace reír cuando hace un truco y ella cae en cuenta que no es él. Ésta es la última vez que Ana lo verá porque lo matarán y al volver encuentra el padre. La violencia y muerte causan que Ana escape de su padre como si él fuera el poder totalitario de Franco y a la vez causan que ella se vea a sí misma como si fuera el *Frankenstein* de la película que mata sin querer al refugiado. El gobierno patriarcal se opone a la paz: “When she helps to hide a stranger, a Republican soldier who is fleeing from the Fascist authorities, she sees him as an incarnation of the monster” (Kinder 60). Los niños de esa época observan a los adultos como la mujer en un mundo de hombres. Las posiciones de liderazgo son de los hombres y Ana toma acción rompiendo el silencio con su ambición de encontrar al espíritu.

En *Cría cuervos*, Saura nos presenta a una niña que tiene fantasías de asesinar al padre, quien muere por otras razones. El simbolismo del título, “Cría cuervos y te sacarán los ojos” se refiere a lo que podría pasar a los malos padres. La fuerza de Ana en esta película demuestra la oposición a través de una mujer activa que rompe la “cruz” heredada de la madre y abuela. Por ejemplo, Ana no es hipócrita y por eso no besa al padre durante el funeral. El padre es un general militar, que representa al gobierno opresivo, y a la vez, a Franco el dictador. La madre en cambio representa a la mujer ideal de la sociedad franquista. Ella pudo ser pianista, pero abandonó todo para ser esposa y madre. La sociedad, la iglesia y el gobierno la empujaban a ser así: “‘women were depicted to be as angels of the hearth, angelical nurturers who sustained the family. According to this model, women were to be self-effacing and submissive with total living dedication to their children and husbands or parents, but they were also to be functional in their efficient management of the home’ ” (McClennen section 2 part II). La madre entonces menciona que escogió la vida de la casa supuestamente cómoda y sin complicaciones donde no tenía la competencia masculina. Sin embargo, tenía competencia femenina por causa del adulterio del esposo. Ana desafía al patriarcado cuando juega porque modifica a la madre [Translation: Ana defies patriarchal order when she plays because she modifies the [role of the] mother]. Las niñas reviven la escena que una vez Ana presencié. En la versión de Ana, “la madre” confronta al “padre” gritándole “sin vergüenza.” Podemos analizar esta modificación mediante la teoría de Mulvey que nos explica la idea de lo activo y lo pasivo: “The masculine identification, in its phallic aspect, reactivates for her a fantasy of ‘action’ that correct femininity demands should be repressed. The fantasy ‘action finds expression through a metaphor of masculinity” (129).

En *Tesis*, dirigida por Alejandro Amenábar, Ángela invierte el estereotipo de la mujer observada porque ella se vuelve la observadora del hombre. Esa inversión se refleja en la manera en que ella se acerca a Chema porque es fuerte casi varonil. Un ejemplo claro de esta fuerza se ve en el clip porque Ángela es el personaje que ve a Chema –la música clásica revela que es a través de ella por quien vemos la acción. Podemos interpretar este ejemplo con la teoría de Mulvey (1999) quien dice que: “In their traditional exhibitionist role women are simultaneously looked at and displayed, with their appearance coded for strong visual and erotic impact so that they can be said to connote to-be looked at ness” (62-3). También, el simple hecho de que Ana sea la que quiere mirar y no ser mirada apoya la teoría de Laura Mulvey, donde la mujer es el objeto de la mirada y no es el sujeto que mira.

*Yoyes*, dirigida por Helena Taberna y estrenada en el año 2000, se basa mayormente en la vida de Yoyes, la primera mujer en el grupo político separatista ETA del país Vasco. En esta película, Yoyes es una mujer activa y fuerte que controla su vida; pero que anhela su tierra. Su pasión política la separa de otras mujeres, especialmente en temas como la apariencia del físico femenino: Rodríguez dice que “to be considered a revolutionary she must separate herself from her femininity” (163). Esta idea de Rodríguez se confirma cuando la hermana de Yoyes la visita en París. Sus amigas, le compran una blusa nueva a Yoyes para que se vea más atractiva y le aconsejan que se esmere más con su físico: le dicen que debe usar maquillaje y vestido (163). Pero para Yoyes, lo importante es volver a la ‘Madre Patria’. Yoyes es de una categoría única. Tuvo un liderazgo muy importante en la organización lo que la expone al peligro de parte de ETA, el gobierno del

gobierno español y la sociedad vasca. Como ella no puede disimular su presencia entre otros y es reconocida por ese carácter, "Yoyes rehúsa ser sumisa" (Rodríguez 163) y con esa valentía ella se opone a la sumisión y rompe el silencio frente a las cámaras.

En conclusión podemos decir que Ana Torrent representa varios roles feministas en las películas mencionadas. Por ejemplo, tenemos a la niña Ana mirando al mundo adulto a su alrededor que escapa a su propio mundo de fantasía mezclado con la realidad. Ana de *Cria Cuervos* mira a los padres y toma acción cambiando su modo como mujer y 'matando' al padre que representa el patriarcado. Ángela en *Tesis* busca e investiga transformándose en sujeto observador y no objeto de observación; cuando ella intenta mirar, sufre pero al final tiene éxito. Finalmente, Yoyes termina asesinada por tomar acción en cuestiones políticas.

En fin, la meta de Ana ha sido un gran éxito que en verdad se debe reconocer porque sus roles enfatizan la diferencia de trato entre los géneros con el reconocer para entender y rechazar esa opresión al reflexionar y reaccionar (Kaminsky). Así, nosotros continuamos transformando y creando mujeres activas que toman control de sus vidas como en los roles de Ana Torrent.

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